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Plate 1
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GIRLS AND MAN OF UEA. — LOYALTY ISLANDS.

JOURNAL

OF

A CRUISE AMONG THE ISLANDS

OF

THE WESTERN PACIFIC,

INCLUDING

THE FEEJEES AND OTHERS INHABITED BY THE POLYNESIAN NEGRO RACES,

IN HER MAJESTY'S SHIP HAVANNAH.

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By JOHN ELPHINSTONE ERSKINE, Capt. R.N.

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With Maps and Plates.

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.
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ISLANDS

OF THE

WESTERN PACIFIC.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

Western groups in the Pacific—Former visits to them—Plan and objects of the cruize—Orthography of native names—Savage Island—Samoan Islands—Tongan Islands—Feejee Islands—New Hebrides—Loyalty Islands—New Caledonia—Isle of Pines—Missionaries to Melanesia.

CONSIDERING the interest excited in Europe by the discoveries of Captain Cook and other navigators, among the islands of the Pacific, towards the end of last century, it is a matter of surprise that a period of time which has seen the establishment of our great settlements in Australia and New Zealand, rendering a knowledge of the western groups of that ocean an object of considerable commercial and political importance, has done little to extend our general acquaintance with them, even among our neighbouring colonies.

As far as Great Britain is concerned, her commercial intercourse with these islands has been limited to a precarious and almost piratical trade, carried on in small vessels (principally from Sydney), in sandalwood, trepang, tortoiseshell, and cocoa-nut oil; whilst the only attempts to improve the character of the barbarous but energetic races of men inhabiting them, have been the somewhat unconnected efforts of different missionary societies, attended with varying success, to supersede their old

superstitions by the knowledge of the purer doctrines of Christianity.

Previous to our occupation of New Zealand, the officer intrusted by the commander-in-chief in India with the temporary charge of the naval station at Sydney, New South Wales, had orders occasionally to visit the islands as far to the eastward as the 150th meridian of west longitude; and several trips were accordingly made, the results of which showed that their regular recurrence would be very favourable to our colonial interests. The troubles which broke out in New Zealand, however, occupying all the small naval force of the station, these visits, which had only in a few instances extended beyond the Society, Navigators', and Friendly Islands, were necessarily discontinued for several years.

In 1839 and 1840 a survey was made of the Navigators' and Feejeean groups (with many others) by Lieut. Wilkes, commanding the United States Exploring Expedition, who afterwards published a very full account of these islands and their inhabitants; but the voluminous character of his work, which treats of a great variety of countries and subjects, has prevented its being so generally read in this country as it deserves.

M. Dumont d'Urville, in the course of his second voyage round the world, about the same time, passed a fortnight among the Feejees (which Captain Drinkwater Bethune had lately quitted in H.M.S. Conway), and has left a somewhat lengthened account of them; but since then, our information respecting the islands of Melanesia (a name given by the French to all that tract between the meridian of Tonga and New Guinea inhabited by the Polynesian negro races) has been confined to a few missionary notices, and exaggerated accounts of atrocities committed against the persons and property of Europeans, who were generally represented as peaceable traders.

The pacification of New Zealand having been at length

effected, under the able government of Sir George Grey, the commanding naval officer (who had now been permanently appointed to the Australian station[1]) was enabled to turn his attention to other points, and a plan being formed for a regular periodical inspection of all the islands of consequence within the limits of his command, the first cruize with this object, of which the following are the notes, was made in H.M.S. Havannah, in 1849.[2]

Many of the visits of ships-of-war, before alluded to, had been attended with lamentable affrays with the natives; and indeed it seemed to be too much the custom to consider such visits as expeditions to search out offences, and, by exhibiting the assumed irresistible power of the white men's arms, and striking terror into the hearts of the *savages* by the certainty and severity of retribution, ensure their pacific conduct towards foreign traders and residents for the future.

A more enlightened policy (the original example of which had been set by the illustrious Cook) had, however, been adopted by some of our officers;[3] and, on further examination, it seemed doubtful whether most of the atrocities said to have been perpetrated by the islanders had not been provoked by acts of aggression or misconduct on the part of the white men.

It was therefore determined that no act of hostility

[1] The following were the limits assigned to the station:—On the north, the 10th degree of south latitude; on the east, the meridian of the 170th degree of west longitude; on the south, the Antarctic circle; and on the west, the meridian of the 75th degree of east longitude.

[2] The Havannah, a ship of 960 tons, was launched in 1811 as a 42-gun frigate; but about 1846 the bulwarks of her upper deck were lowered, and her armament altered to sixteen heavy guns on the main-deck, and three on the quarter-deck and forecastle, the complement of men allotted to her being 240, including all classes. When stored for a four months' voyage the usual draught of water was 18 feet 6 inches.

[3] It would be unjust not to mention the names of Captains Drinkwater Bethune of the Conway, Sir Everard Home of the North Star, and Maxwell of the Dido, whose treatment of the inhabitants left the most favourable impression towards the British, and it is to be regretted that no account of their cruizes has been made public, with the exception of a few straggling notices in the 'Nautical Magazine.'

towards any of the native inhabitants should originate with us during the cruize, but that a system of forbearance and conciliation towards them should be the rule to be observed on our part, both as that best calculated to impress their minds with the dignity of our power, which had hitherto been often compromised by paltry and ineffectual attacks, and also with some notions of law and justice, which ought to govern their intercourse with foreigners. Whether the adoption for the future of such a system of policy would advance our commercial interests, by assisting the missionaries in improving the social (to say nothing of the moral) condition of these races, must be determined by time, or left to conjecture.

It is perhaps proper to remark, that on this cruize, no scientific object was contemplated beyond the examination of any anchorages, not previously known, which might be hastily surveyed; the encouragement and regulation of our trade being that alone proposed. Nor, in the following Journal (although the visits of former navigators are occasionally alluded to, to illustrate the subject), is it intended by any means to offer a history of discovery among these islands, but simply to furnish such an account by an eye-witness, of their present state, as may assist some future historian in tracing the progress of improvement, or, alas! of extinction, among the varied and interesting tribes of this extraordinary portion of the globe.[1]

[1] The map which accompanies this work must be considered only as a track chart, since many islands, &c., to which our voyage had no reference, are omitted; and the size of the smaller islands is, for the sake of clearness, not always of the exact proportions. The positions of the places inserted are given however from the latest and best authorities.

For the illustrations, of which the coloured ones are intended to exhibit the shades of difference between the hues of the Polynesians and the more or less mixed negro races, I am indebted to Mr. Kempster Knapp, Naval Instructor, and Dr. Henry Home Turnbull, Surgeon, of the Havannah, and particularly to my friend Captain Richard Alworthy Oliver, lately commanding H.M. sloop Fly on the Australian station, who, although himself engaged in the publication of his beautiful sketches among the islands, not only placed his portfolio at my disposal, but has furnished me with drawings executed by himself on the wood.

The few nautical remarks inserted are such only as may be useful to the practical navigator in a sea still little traversed by ships, and the reader is spared all accounts of occurrences on board which do not relate to the subjects in view, as well as details of difficulties and perils which often exist only in the imagination, and may generally be overcome or avoided by the ordinary exercise of seamanship and prudence.

The experience of the missionaries, who have made themselves thoroughly acquainted with the Polynesian dialects, and partially so with those of Melanesia, has now enabled us to give to almost all the islands and places in this sea their proper native names, differing very much in many cases from those affixed to them by former navigators, which even now, to the perplexity of seamen and geographers, are retained in most charts.

Some of the most remarkable mistakes occur in the names, quite unknown in these seas, given by M. de la Perouse to the islands of Samoa, or the Navigators', as the native appellations; nor is it easy to conjecture whence they were derived. It would appear that his giving the name of Maouna to Tutūilă was caused by confusing it with the Manūă group to windward, whilst a similar confusion with respect to Upōlu and Savaii induced him to name the latter island Pōlă. It is also probable that Oyalava, M. de la Perouse's name for Upōlu, signifying, "Is it there?" was mistaken, as has happened in many instances, for the name of the land, instead of an interrogative reply to an inquiry.

With respect to the orthography of the native names, it would seem easy, now that a regular system has been adopted by the missionaries in their translations of the Scriptures and other books, to establish uniformity in this particular; but it is not so simple a matter as it at first appears. The Italian sound of the vowels having been adopted for the sake of simplicity, the English residing

in the islands, finding that such a spelling occasions false pronunciations among such of their countrymen as are acquainted with only their own language, make use of the English vowels when corresponding with them. A missionary, for instance, writing to a friend in Sydney, or even to the secretary of his own society in London, from the Fiji islands, would spell them the Feejees, whilst to his neighbours he would use the native orthography. Some letters also have sounds assigned to them, different not only from the English but from those of all other European languages. There being, for example, no sound of simple g in the Samoan, Tongan, and Feejeean dialects, it being always accompanied by a nasal n, the latter becomes an unnecessary letter, and is omitted. Thus Pang-ŏ-Pang-ŏ, the harbour of Tutuila, is spelt Pago-Pago, and Tong-ă, Toga, although, as mentioned before in the case of the vowels, in writing to an European the latter would certainly be spelt Tonga, and indeed is so in the English portion of the vocabulary of the two languages, compiled and printed at Tonga-tābŭ.

The good policy of the first missionaries in laboriously reducing the native languages to grammatical and written forms as the best means of rapidly disseminating the Christian religion, is generally admitted; but as the ultimate spread of the English language and literature must be an object of the greatest importance, it seems questionable if future advantages were not sacrificed to the immediate one of simplicity when the Italian pronunciation of the vowels was fixed on. Already in New Zealand, where the time for teaching English has arrived, two systems of orthography are necessarily taught in some schools, an inconvenience which the original adoption of the English spelling would have obviated.

Captain Wilkes, and the officers of the United States Exploring Expedition, seem to have proceeded on no regular principles in their nomenclature and orthography,

many of the names having been taken apparently from American and English traders or whalers. Thus, in Tutuila, Fangă-sāā, or Sacred Bay, adjoining the Massacre Bay of de la Perouse, is printed Fungasar, and in the Feejees, the village of So Levu, where a number of white men resided, is called by their corrupted name of Sua-Lib, being what is termed among the islands beach-slang.

However one may regret that the orthography of Captain Cook, who was seldom, except in trifling instances, mistaken in the names of persons or places, was not taken as the foundation for that of the written languages of Polynesia, it has now been so completely departed from as to render it necessary, for the sake of clearness, to adopt principally the new system of the missionaries. I shall therefore do so in general, feeling myself however at liberty to depart from it (as, for instance, in the case of the *Feejees*, which are usually known under that name even in the present day), when a rigid adherence might either be unintelligible or pedantic.[1]

A short notice of the different islands or groups, in the order in which the Havannah touched at them, will enable the reader to follow the ship's progress on the chart. As the south-east trade-wind generally prevails to the northward of the 25th parallel of south latitude, blowing most steadily from May to November, the quickest mode of visiting the islands in succession from our Australian colonies is to take advantage of the frequent westerly winds a few degrees to the southward of the parallel above mentioned,

[1] The following are the sounds given to the letters in native words :—

a as a in father.
e as ā in mate.
i as ee in meet.
o as ō in mote.
u as oo in rule.

The consonants as in English, excepting in Feejeean words, where
b has, more or less faintly, the sound of *m* before it, as bŭrĕ, or m'bure, a temple.
d, of n, as dina, or n'dina, true.
n has generally a nasal sound, as Navindi, or G'Navindi.

and proceed as quickly as possible to the eastward. When in about the 170th degree of west longitude a course may be shaped to the northward into the limits of the trade-wind, which will then enable a ship to make rapid progress back to the westward, touching at the various groups on her return voyage.

Leaving New Zealand then, and proceeding to the easternmost extremity of the voyage (the 170th meridian of west longitude), the first island in order is Niuĕ, the Savage Island of Captain Cook, who discovered and landed on it in June, 1774. He describes the inhabitants as coming on his party, who endeavoured to bring them to a parley, "with the ferocity of wild boars," and failed in holding the smallest communication with them.

This island seems not to have been noticed again until 1830, when the Rev. John Williams, of the London Missionary Society, touched at it on his passage from Rarotonga to the Navigators' Islands, with the hope of being able to leave there two native Christian teachers from Aitutaki. Although this purpose was not effected, he succeeded in persuading two lads of the island to leave their homes with him, and it is believed that these men, having received some education, were afterwards sent back, and ultimately put to death by their countrymen, on the supposition that an epidemic disease which broke out shortly after their return had been brought by them from the white men. Mr. Williams, in his interesting 'Narrative of Missionary Enterprises in the South Sea Islands,' mentions the report of a boat belonging to a vessel which had touched there a few months before him, having been seized and the crew massacred, but no record of such an event has been found at Sydney. These islanders must, however, have had a good deal of communication with passing ships between this period and that of our visit in 1849, as they flocked alongside of us without fear, and were easily persuaded to come on board. Savage Island

is about thirty miles in circumference, and lies in lat. 19° S., long. 169¾° W.

At a day and a half's run to the northward lie the islands of Samoa, or, as they were named by M. de Bougainville, who discovered the easternmost inhabited portion of the group in May, 1768, "L'Archipel des Navigateurs," a name which, if we compare the nautical skill of the inhabitants with that of their neighbours to the south-west, the Tongans or Friendly Islanders, they scarcely seem to deserve.

This beautiful and fertile group consists of the four larger islands of Manŭă-tēlĕ or Tāū, Tutūilă, Upōlŭ, and Savaīī, with several smaller ones, Savaii, the largest, being about 40 miles long by 25 broad.

Tutuila, under the name of Maouna, which M. de la Perouse mistakingly applied to it, acquired an unenviable notoriety in 1787, in consequence of the massacre of M. de Langle, second in command in M. de la Perouse's unfortunate expedition, with eleven officers and men, in a bay on its northern side, which has retained the name of Massacre Bay in consequence.

In 1830 Mr. Williams established a mission on these islands by means of native teachers from Rarotonga, who were replaced in 1836 by six British missionaries of the London Missionary Society. These now number eighteen (mostly married men, with families), the majority being Scotch Congregationalists. They have made considerable progress among the people, a large proportion of whom are now professing Christians, and for several years, in spite of occasional vexatious wars among the tribes, a stranger may consider his life and property as safe in Samoa (as the natives term the whole group), as in any part of the world.

The Mission has, besides numerous chapels and schools, an institution for the education of native teachers in Upolu, calculated for sixty scholars; and at the printing-

press of the establishment, besides many copies of the Scriptures, and other works on religious and educational subjects, in the Samoan language, a newspaper in English, called the 'Samoan Reporter,' full of interesting matter relating to the history of the islands and their inhabitants, and generally circulated through the Pacific, is printed half-yearly.

Our ships of war have frequently of late years touched at Pāngŏ Pāngŏ, a harbour in Tutuila, and at Apia, the principal village of Upolu, which latter may also be considered that of the whole group, it having been since July, 1845, the residence of a British and an American consul.

Lieutenant Wilkes, with the United States Exploring Expedition, visited and surveyed all the Samoan islands in 1839, and M. d'Urville gives an account, in his 'Voyage dans l'Océanie,' of his stay at Upolu in September, 1838. The French seem never to have liked the character of this people, especially since the death of M. de Langle, but we were struck with their punctilious politeness, both to ourselves and in their ordinary intercourse with each other, breaches of which, indeed, are still considered justifiable causes of war between neighbouring tribes.

The population of all Samoa was believed by Mr. Williams to amount to 160,000 in 1830, but this was certainly an over-estimate. In 1845 the 'Samoan Reporter' speaks of it as between 50,000 and 60,000, and it is now tolerably well ascertained that their whole numbers do not exceed 38,000. There can indeed be but little doubt that a considerable decrease is gradually taking place.

Returning to the S.S.W., at the distance of about 300 miles we come to the northernmost of the Friendly or Tongan Islands, which are composed of three groups, at present acknowledging a common sovereign, viz. Vavāu to the north, Hapäi in the centre, and Tōngă-tābŭ, or the "Sacred Tonga," to the south.

A few detached islands to the northward, known on the charts under various names, viz. Traitor's and Cocos, or Boscawen's and Keppel's Islands (the native name being Niūă-tabu-tabu), and Proby's Island (Niua-foou), form also a part of the same chief's dominions, which in former days extended to the northward even as far as Uēă, or Wallis Island, in lat. 13° S. Of the Tongan archipelago, generally low coral islands, although there are one or two active volcanoes among them, the southern portion was discovered by Tasman in 1643, who gave to Tonga-tabu, Eōa, and Namūkă (the Anamooka of Cook), the names of Amsterdam, Middleburg, and Rotterdam respectively.

Captain Cook visited this group in 1774, and discovered that of Hapai on his third voyage in 1777. He has left a minute description of both, under the name of the Friendly Islands, and it is remarkable that, slight as his knowledge of the language must necessarily have been, his wonderful sagacity and powers of observation enabled him to discover most of the points of their intricate and curious policy. Cook never saw Vavau,[1] although he heard it spoken of as a large island to the northward, having been dissuaded from going thither by Feenau (according to modern orthography "Finau"), the powerful chief who ruled at Hapai, and it was first made known to Europeans in 1781, under the name of Mayorga or Majorca, by the Spanish captain Maurelle, who anchored in a harbour which he named El Puerto del Refugio, and who also, unaware of Captain Cook's discovery of the Hapais four years previously, called them Las Islas de Galvez.

Several navigators of different nations called at the Tongan islands soon after Cook's visit, and have left accounts of their proceedings, but the first attempt to settle there was made by a party of British missionaries, princi-

[1] Cook understood from the Tongans that Samoa (or, as they term it, "Hamoa") was one large island, and Feejee another,—mistakes likely enough to occur from the inhabitants talking of these groups, as they do of their own, in the singular number.

pally tradesmen, who left England in 1796 in the Duff, a ship bought by a newly-formed society for the purpose of establishing Christian missions among various islands of the Pacific. Of these, ten landed and remained in Tonga, but a year or two afterwards, the natives, stirred up by some runaway convicts from New South Wales, who were jealous of the growing influence of the new comers, massacred three of their number, and the mission failed for the time.

Some years later we were made better acquainted with this people. An English letter-of-marque, the Port au Prince, having been cut off in 1806 by the natives of Lifuka, one of the Hapai islands, and the greater part of the crew put to death, a young man, William Mariner, one of the survivors, who had acted as clerk to the captain, was received into the family of one of the most powerful chiefs, with whom he lived for four years. The account of his residence in Tonga was published in 1817, and the careful manner in which the information which he could impart was collected and related by Dr. Martin, who edited the work, has enabled us to know more of the history and ancient customs of this people than of any other in the Pacific, and probably as much as is possible with respect to any barbarous nation.

In 1822 the Wesleyan Society despatched one of their body from New South Wales to occupy this ground, and in 1826 the mission was permanently established, their efforts being much assisted by two natives of Tahiti, belonging to the London Mission in that island, who were on their way to the Feejees.

This mission has had many difficulties to contend with, but they may now be considered as having entirely Christianized Vavau and Hapai, although in Tonga-tabu there exists a strong heathen party, whose objections to join the rest of their countrymen arise, however, more from a political than a religious feeling.

The population of the whole of these islands may be estimated at between 20,000 and 30,000.

The islands of the Viti archipelago, popularly known as the "Feejees," are situated about 300 miles to the N.W. of Tonga-tabu. They are remarkable as being the first, in coming from the eastward, in which we meet a population of Polynesian negroes, and as the point at which, preserving, in great measure, their respective characteristics, the black and copper-coloured (or proper Polynesian) races come nearest in contact.

The Feejees were first seen by Tasman in 1643, and named by him "Prince William's Islands." Captain Bligh, who, after having been set adrift in an open boat by the mutineers of the Bounty, passed among the south-western portion of the group in 1787, communicating with an island which was probably Kantavu, was the next European navigator who is known to have sighted them, Captain Cook having been only informed of the existence of a large island named Feejee, three days' sail to the N.W. by W. of Tonga-tabu, by the natives of that group.

The missionary ship Duff, in her passage from Tonga-tabu to China in September, 1797, got entangled among the smaller islands forming the eastern division of the archipelago, of which the master (Wilson) made an incorrect plan. The merit of having opened regular communication with this people has been claimed by several masters of trading vessels, but it is certain that by 1808, in which year the natives were first made acquainted with the use of fire-arms by the survivors from the wreck of an American brig, the Eliza, a trade in sandalwood between the Feejees and China was carried on in ships of considerable size belonging to New South Wales.

M. d'Urville, who paid a short visit to the Feejees in May and June, 1827, has given us the first authentic account of the islands and their inhabitants; and it was not until 1835 that a Christian mission was attempted by the

Wesleyan ministers from Tonga, nor until several years later that their efforts met with any success.

The want of a regular survey was at length supplied by the United States Exploring Expedition, which, under Captain Wilkes, performed that service in 1840. The narrative of the expedition contains a mass of information on the manners, laws, religion, and language of these extraordinary islanders, and will probably remain the best, if not the only record of them, when they shall have been supplanted, as there is every reason to believe they will be ere many generations shall have passed, by habits of civilization and the Christian religion.

The two principal islands of the group, all of which are lofty, picturesque, and fruitful, are Viti-Levu (Great Feejee), which is 85 miles long by 40 broad, and Vanua Levu (Great Land), 95 miles by 25 or 30; and there are besides nearly one hundred inhabited islands of all sizes, containing a population which has been variously estimated at from 75,000 to 300,000 souls, the mean of these numbers being probably not far from the truth. In the smaller islands forming the eastern or windward division, the Wesleyans are rapidly succeeding in the work of conversion, but the great majority of the inhabitants of the larger islands are systematically addicted to bloodshed and cannibalism, to a degree not generally believed by civilized nations, and which indeed may be said scarcely to admit of exaggeration. In proportion, however, as they surpass the neighbouring people of this ocean in the practice of these vices, do they exhibit their superiority in energy, intelligence, and a knowledge of the useful arts; and it may be questioned if this race, which seems to differ more intellectually than physically from the African negro, be not pre-eminently that one of the Pacific capable of the highest degree of rational civilization.

The New Hebrides, a long chain of volcanic islands, extending 400 miles from north to south, and situated

about that distance from the Feejees, come next in order. Captain Cook says, with respect to the discovery of this group,—"The northern islands of this archipelago were first discovered by that great navigator Quiros in 1606, and, not without reason, were considered as part of the southern continent, which, at that time, and until very lately, was supposed to exist. They were next visited by M. de Bougainville in 1768, who, besides landing at the Isle of Lepers, did no more than discover that the land was not connected, but composed of islands, which he called the Great Cyclades. But as, besides ascertaining the extent and situation of these islands, we added to them several new ones which were not known before, and explored the whole, I think we have obtained a right to name them; and shall in future distinguish them by the name of the New Hebrides."[1]

Very few additions have been made to the hydrography of the New Hebrides since Captain Cook's time, nor have we become much better acquainted with the people, although the discovery of the existence of sandalwood in most of the islands about 1828, and the high price of that commodity in the Chinese market, caused several expeditions to be fitted out in 1829 from New South Wales and other places, to engage in that traffic, which has been carried on with greater or less activity ever since. The apprehension of the trade being thrown open to competition has induced a habit of secrecy with respect to all their transactions on the part of the traders, and the commerce itself has, with a few exceptions, been conducted in a manner very discreditable to the white men employed in it, who have often shown themselves in no way behind the blacks in cruelty and treachery, and indeed, with the sole exception of cannibalism, in the practice of all the vices we generally ascribe to savages. Several British vessels

[1] Captain Cook's Second Voyage, chap. vii.

have been cut off by the natives, from motives either of cupidity or revenge, and many lives are still lost annually on both sides.

Within the last few years, however, Mr. Paddon, an enterprising Englishman, known in these seas as one of the most active and honourable masters of the trade, has formed a regular establishment or factory at Anēitĕūm, the southernmost island of the group, and surrounded himself by a number of white men and their families. The friendly feeling of the natives towards strangers, when properly treated, is in this instance conspicuous, the whole island being open to Europeans, who reside there in perfect security; nor is there any reason to believe that similar results might not be attained by a like course of policy in the other islands.

Ethnologists have invented the term Negrillo, to distinguish the race of men inhabiting (among other islands) the New Hebrides, from the Feejeeans and other negroes. It will probably be found on further examination, however, that, with the exception of the disgusting practice of cannibalism, and the black colour, with crisp hair, common to all, there are as many points of difference, both mental and physical, between the different islanders of the group, as between any two races in the Pacific. The men of Vate (or Sandwich Island), for instance, are little inferior in stature, strength, and intelligence, to the Feejeeans, whilst those of Eromango, Tana, and Aneiteum, although differing considerably from each other, appear to belong to a less robust and less advanced people. Even those who resemble each other the most nearly, have totally different languages, but many who fell under our observation had adopted in some shape or another a dialect of the Polynesian, and in most cases the decimal numeral arrangement of the latter, in addition to their own, in which they reckon only to five.

It is impossible to form any conjecture as to the amount of the population of the New Hebrides. That of Aneiteum

is known to be under 3000, and it is probable Eromango does not contain many more. Tana, Vate, and Malicolo, however, are much more populous, the separate communities into which they are all broken up, being continually at war.

For this reason, and the great diversity of language, missionary enterprise has as yet made but little progress. The first attempt on the part of the Rev. Mr. Williams to open communication with Eromango in 1839, resulted in his death by the hands of the natives, whose experience could not have led them to expect any advantages from intercourse with white men. The London Missionary Society has now two ministers at Aneiteum, and native teachers at Vate and Tana, two British missionaries having been obliged to abandon the latter island a few years since. These stations are regularly visited by some of the gentlemen of the mission from Samoa, in a barque belonging to the Society; and from the influence the native teachers have always acquired, wherever they have been placed, it cannot be doubted that ere long a regular footing will be obtained in all these places, for the dissemination of Christianity. The soil of the New Hebrides, among which there are several active volcanoes, is generally of exuberant fertility, but during the damp season, fever and ague prevail among strangers, the Polynesian missionary teachers being equal sufferers with the whites.

To the south-west of the southern portion of the New Hebrides, parallel to the north-east coast of New Caledonia, and separated from it by a channel about forty-five miles wide, lies the Loyalty group, consisting of the three islands of Uĕă, Lĭfŭ, and Mărĕ, besides several rocky islets. Unlike the New Hebrides, these are low, flat, coral islands, the north-western extremity of the group being apparently still submerged, and forming a prolonged line of dangerous reefs. The Loyalty Islands have scarcely as yet found a place on our charts, and the shape of their

western sides, and the positions of the different points, had never been ascertained until our hurried visit in the Havannah.

M. d'Entrecasteaux discovered and named after his hydrographer, M. Beaupré, the small reef-encircled islet to the north-west of Uea, on which, according to M. d'Urville, he must have narrowly escaped shipwreck in 1792.

The discovery of Mare has been claimed for a Captain Butler, of the ship Walpole, in 1800, and by others for the Britannia in 1803, which latter name appears first on any chart, as attached to one of the larger islands of the group.

M. d'Urville states that in 1827, although the "uncertain group of the Loyalty Islands" appeared on a chart of Arrowsmith's, M. Rossel, his hydrographer, doubted their existence, and their extent was certainly first ascertained by M. d'Urville, who connected his work (on the northern sides) with that of M. d'Entrecasteaux at Isle Beaupré, retaining the name of Britannia for Mare, and giving those of Chabrol and Halgan to Lifu and Uea. He had, however, no communication with the inhabitants, who are, as he rightly conjectured, of the black race, but with a strong infusion of the Polynesian blood and language, which, with even the names of some of the islands, it will afterwards be seen, have been obtained or renewed at no great distance of time by involuntary immigration from the islands to the eastward. The population of the Loyalty Islands cannot be numerous, as they are generally barren and deficient in fresh water, wants which occasion a constant emigration to New Caledonia, and a wandering spirit among them all. Sandalwood, however, is abundant, and has attracted for several years a number of traders from our Australian colonies. The usual results of vessels being cut off and crews massacred have followed; outrages to be traced in many cases to revenge for injuries inflicted by the undisciplined crews, whose superiority to the blacks is often limited to the knowledge of gunpowder.

No white missionaries have as yet taken up their residence at these islands, but in Mare we found six Samoan teachers belonging to the London Mission Society, who had partially Christianized the tribes of the west coast.

The people of Lifu and Uea seem to be very well disposed towards our countrymen, notwithstanding that, a year or two before, several of the men of both islands had been carried away under different pretences in a vessel fitted out at Sydney to procure labourers for New South Wales, from these and other islands.

The important island of New Caledonia, which, from its position and the excellence of its harbours, may be considered as commanding the communications of Australia with India, China, Panama, and California, was discovered by Captain Cook on the 2nd of September, 1774, when, after exploring the New Hebrides, verifying the discoveries of Quiros, and completing the survey of that archipelago, he was returning to refit and refresh his crew at New Zealand.

It was visited and imperfectly surveyed in 1792 by M. d'Entrecasteaux, then employed in searching for traces of M. de la Perouse's unfortunate expedition, and has, since 1840, been much frequented by sandalwood traders.

New Caledonia is about two hundred miles long and twenty-five broad, a central rocky ridge of considerable elevation extending along its whole length, and a barrier coral reef surrounding, with the exception of a very few miles, the entire coast, both on its northern and southern sides. This reef, which is distant from the shore from two to twelve miles, with many openings allowing the largest ships to enter, forms a continuous channel round the island, in almost every part of which anchorage may be found in from four to twenty-five fathoms. A continuation of the reef almost connects the south-east end of New Caledonia with the Isle of Pines, and stretches out fully one hundred and fifty miles from the north-west

point, occasionally dotted with islands, some of which are inhabited.

The New Caledonians, who have no name for their whole island, are a fine and intelligent race of men, resembling in physical characteristics the Feejeans, although in religion and language they differ entirely. Captain Cook, who passed eleven days in the port of Balad, on the N.E. coast, gives them unqualified praise for honesty and good-nature, in which quality, he says, they exceeded all the nations he had yet met with. La Billardière, the historian of d'Entrecasteaux's expedition, thinks that Cook much overrated the goodness of their dispositions; and the French certainly obtained convincing proofs of their addiction to cannibalism. The population has been so differently estimated, from 15,000 to 60,000, that we can only make a guess at its amount, and may perhaps set it down at about 25,000. The London Mission Society occupied a station for a few years at Tuālŭ, a village near the south-eastern end of the island, but have abandoned it for the time, as have also the French Roman Catholics, who, headed by the Bishop of Amata (Douarre), settled in considerable numbers at Balad and Puēsĕpō, or Puēbō, two neighbouring districts, about 1845. They have now retired to the Isle of Pines, whence they are said to contemplate a return to their former quarters. We could not ascertain that they had made much impression on the minds of the natives, nor did it appear that they had left behind them any traces of their language, although the people have a singular aptitude for the acquirement and pronunciation of English words.

The island, though picturesque, is not productive; but the inhabitants in some places practise irrigation very skilfully, and appear generally to be a people capable of much improvement.

The small island named by Captain Cook (its discoverer) the Isle of Pines, from the number of the singularly

columnar-looking arancarias which abound on it, completes the list of those visited on the Havannah's first voyage. The accidental discovery of sandalwood by one of the seamen of a vessel (the Camden) which came for the purpose of landing missionary teachers there, in 1840, first drew attention to the island, and a number of vessels flocked thither from Sydney. Several massacres, attended with circumstances of unusual daring and ferocity, stamped the islanders in public estimation with a very bad character; but the establishment of a station, or factory (similar to Mr. Paddon's at Aneiteum), by a distinguished merchant and shipowner of Sydney (Mr. Towns), for the collection of sandalwood, &c., has been followed by the best results, as far as their intercourse with white men is concerned. An unarmed man may now walk over the whole island without apprehension; and the French mission, who have erected a large building for their accommodation, reside there in perfect security. It is to be feared, however, that the introduction of fire-arms has enabled this people, who resemble the New Caledonians, but are always at variance with some or other of the tribes, to carry the war into the enemy's country, and nearly to depopulate the south-eastern districts of that island.

The first Samoan Protestant teachers who landed at the Isle of Pines were put to death by a chief named Matūkŭ, and they have never been replaced.

The great loss of time in communicating with the headquarters of the mission (the intervening groups of the Feejees and Tonga being, as before mentioned, occupied by the Wesleyan Society), and the expense incurred in maintaining a vessel for the purpose, seem to point out the necessity—if the work of civilization by means of religion, hitherto so successful, is to be continued—of some better arrangement for supplying missionaries and teachers to Melanesia.

The present Bishop of New Zealand, who, with un-

exampled daring and devotion to the cause of Christianity, has already (1850) made two successful voyages to the New Hebrides, New Caledonia, and the Loyalty group, in a vessel of 23 tons, manned by a crew of four unarmed men, taking back with him to his diocese, for education, several willing lads from the different islands, must be considered the originator of a better organized and more extended system, the success of which, if his valuable life be spared for a few years, can hardly be doubtful; and it is to be hoped we shall also, through his instrumentality, become possessed of important information on the subject of the Melanesian people, of which the following Journal contains but a hasty and imperfect sketch.

Savage Island Canoe.

CHAPTER II.

Sail from New Zealand — Rocher de l'Espérance, or French Rock — Curtis Island — Nautical remarks — Niue or Savage Island — Traffic with the inhabitants — Position of the island — Three islands doubtful.

HAVING touched at Auckland, where, by the kindness of Sir George Grey, we were furnished with a handsome supply of axes, fish-hooks, and cotton cloth, for presents to the island chiefs, we sailed from the anchorage off Kororarika, in the Bay of Islands, on the 25th of June, 1849, at 2 P.M., with the first of a W.S.W. wind, accompanied by very fine weather, and a rising barometer.

On the 28th, the weather still continuing fine, and the wind from the westward, we made the rocky islet called on our charts "French Rock" at 9 A.M., and at 1 30 P.M. passed within half a mile to the southward of it; getting, when the central peak bore N. by E. by compass, 63 fathoms, coral with small shells. The rock, which was discovered in March, 1793, by M. d'Entrecasteaux, who named it after his ship, "Rocher de l'Espérance," is about 500 or 600 feet in length, by 250 high, and is covered with multitudes of small birds. At noon it bore N. 49° E., 5 or 6

miles, from which we made its position lat. 31° 23′ S., long. 181°, 3′ 45″ E. from Greenwich. M. d'Entrecasteaux places it in 31° 27′ 30″ S., long. 178° 45′ E. from Paris, or 181° 5′ E. from Greenwich, a difference from our place of 4½ miles in latitude; and both positions have been assigned to it by hydrographers. As it can be seen from a considerable distance, and is quite safe to approach, the difference is of no great consequence to navigation. The temperature of the air at noon was 67°, and that of the water 64°.

On the 29th of June, at 1 P.M., having made since yesterday but 60 miles to the N.E., and felt no current, we saw Curtis Island (discovered by Lieutenant Watts, of the Penrhyn, in 1788), from the mast-head, bearing N. by W. It must have been about 50 miles distant, our position at noon being, lat. 30° 54′ S., and long. 182° 3′ E. It fell calm in the afternoon, and a breeze from the N.E. sprang up in the evening, which gradually freshening, we tacked to the northward at 9.30 A.M. on the 30th. At noon we had made but 56 miles to the eastward since yesterday, and had experienced a current of 18 miles to the N.N.W. The temperature was 66° both of the air and the water. In the afternoon the glass began to fall, and the wind to freshen, till at 9 P.M. it was the force of 8, squally and rainy, the barometer 29·70.

By 2 A.M. on the 1st of July the E.N.E. wind had increased to a strong gale, bringing us under a close-reefed maintopsail (the barometer having fallen to 29·65), with heavy squalls and rain, and much lightning. At 4 P.M. the wind drew more to the northward, and began to moderate; the glass rising at noon to 29·72: the temperature of the air 67°, and of the sea 66°. We have had no current, and have made 81 miles N. 6° W. The albatrosses seem to have left us, but a few Cape pigeons were swimming close alongside of the ship all day.

On the 2nd of July the wind settled in the W.N.W.,

and freshened up to a strong breeze, which enabled us to make a good run to the N.E.

At noon on the 5th we were in lat. 21° 35', long. 190°, the wind still strong from the S.W.; temperature of air 74°, and of the sea 76°; with a set during the last twenty-four hours of 24 miles S. 68°E.; barometer, 29·84. The birds have all left us. It is singular that in this latitude, and at this season, there should be no appearance of the trade-wind; and as it has gradually veered to the S.W., with a rising barometer, and a current is still setting to the eastward at the rate of 1½ mile an hour, this has probably been a regular revolving gale, travelling to the eastward, as is usual in more southern latitudes in this ocean.

At daylight on the 6th of July, the wind being still at S.W., and the weather beautifully clear, we made Savage Island ahead, and, closing it, stood along its western, or what must usually be, its lee side. The westerly wind, which was falling light, had, however, left such a swell as to preclude all hopes of being able to land, the shore seeming a steep coral wall. The island is long and low, apparently not more than 200 feet high at any point, flat on the summit, and covered with scrubby trees, among which we saw no houses nor signs of cultivation. At 9 o'clock three canoes were reported as coming off, the ship being then four or five miles from the land, and we shortened sail to pick them up. As few of us had ever seen men in the savage state before, and these had been described by Captain Cook as more completely so than any of the islanders of the Pacific, it may be supposed that we looked at them with much interest, every telescope in the ship being pointed at the canoes. As they paddled up under the quarter, these instruments, which they probably took for fire-arms, seemed to disconcert them a little, and they waved to us to put them away, which, of course, was done, and they came boldly alongside, resisting, however, at first our invitations to come on board,

but holding up the spears and other weapons they had brought to barter to the men who had been sent outside to give them boat-ropes.

These first comers were soon succeeded by ten or a dozen more canoes, each containing four persons, and all of similar construction, from twenty to twenty-four feet long, made apparently of a single tree with raised wash-streaks, the fore and after parts covered over and handsomely carved. An outrigger, composed of one long spar, floating in the water parallel to the canoe, and supported by three transverse ones, forming a platform, on which lay their spears and other implements, projected on one side, making it necessary for them, in this instance, to come on the weather side of the ship. This contrivance, common to most of the canoes of the Pacific, must not be confounded with that of a spar projecting to windward when under sail to enable a man to ballast the canoe with the weight of his body, although we afterwards saw that plan sometimes in operation among the Navigators' Islands, but is one absolutely necessary to enable the narrow vessel to maintain its equilibrium in the smoothest water. Their paddles were short, concave in the blade, and beautifully shaped like a plantain-leaf. The men were in general perfectly naked, though a few wore a narrow waist-belt, and a square patch of some kind of cloth, their colour being a clear brown, with what appeared at first a scrofulous eruption on their backs, but which proved to be but the salt water showing on the cocoa-nut oil with which their bodies were rubbed, and immense quantities of flies, which indeed remained on board after they had left us. They were not in any instance tattooed, and I only remarked one or two who had daubed their faces with streaks of black paint; nor was any appearance of circumcision noticed, although we afterwards heard that they practise a modified rite of the kind. The hair of some was crisp, but of others, particularly the few boys

we saw, perfectly smooth, from which it is probable the former had curled theirs artificially; and several had the hair tied up into a large topknot, coloured yellow, as if with lime. Some of the elder men, one of whom generally sat in the bow of the canoe, had long beards plaited and ornamented with pieces of oyster or clam shells, and a few wore moustaches. They were, as far as we could see, clean limbed and well made, but of small stature; and, with few exceptions, the expression of their countenances was intelligent and prepossessing. Their articles of traffic were almost entirely weapons, viz. spears, single and double headed, the latter like pitchforks, all very nicely made, and ornamented with a few feathers, the arrangement of which, we were told, represented the owner's name, and enabled him to claim the credit of a successful throw in battle. They had also rounded staves of seven or eight feet long, and, what they seemed to put the highest value on, weapons about the same length, but with a flat blade like that of a paddle, which were, in fact, double-handed *sabres;* and these were carefully wrapped up in plantain-leaves, which they pulled off to display their goods in their full freshness. They had a few bananas and taro-roots, which they did not wish to sell, and pieces of sugar-cane which they apparently had brought for their own refreshment. I bought from one canoe a pretty green parroquet, with a blue head and crimson breast, tied with a long string to a stick, which did not live many days, and quantities of spears, &c.; but our system of barter was not well regulated, being but an orderly scramble, which, had we remained long among them, would have been very inconvenient, as making it impossible to fix definite values on the different articles on either side. They refused tobacco, which was offered to the first comers in the shape of cigars, lighted to show them the nature of it, saying it was "tabu;" nor would they touch it, putting our hands gently back. They

asked for covering for the head, and were much pleased with red worsted comforters and pieces of red cotton, which they tied on immediately as turbans. White or coloured handkerchiefs they would not look at, saying they were fit only for "wahine" (women), as Mr. Williams mentions their doing when he offered them "tapa," or the cloth of Rarotonga, in 1830. But the articles most in request were knives and fish-hooks, especially the latter, and black bottles were also much esteemed.

As there was a long westerly swell, which made it inconvenient for the canoes to lie alongside, and as we were occasionally obliged to fill the maintopsail to keep the ship drawing off the land, only a few ventured to come on board. They soon made themselves at home on deck, although evidently unaccustomed to the motion of a ship, not having what seamen call their sea legs. The quarter-boats attracted immediate attention, and were visited with much interest, and at last one or two were coaxed down on the main deck. Here they broke out into cries of astonishment and delight, but were not at first quite assured of their safety. One only ventured below into the gun-room, and he insisted upon somebody holding him by the hand, as if to secure him from injury. One of the quartermasters first performed this office, but on entering the gun-room he transferred himself to Lieut. Pollard, who soon set him at his ease. He seemed frightened at my dog, and I doubt if he had ever seen one before, and a little so of a monkey and the sheep; but his amazement at the variety of objects was at first so great, that it was difficult to distinguish which were novel and which were not. The officers soon dressed him up, first in an old hat, and afterwards in a shirt and a pair of trowsers, and he was perfectly delighted with his appearance in a looking-glass. He was offered biscuit, which he would not eat, and a glass of wine, which he tasted but spat out immediately with disgust, making

signs that it burned his throat. Many curious things were given to him, such as steel pens, pins, pomatum-pots, &c., all of which he declined as useless, although he would have taken one of the latter if he could have affixed it to his breast as an ornament. On coming on deck again he was frantic with joy, and on the drums and fifes being ordered up, and playing a lively air, he danced, with a naked countryman of his own and one of our crew, what might well have passed for an Irish jig, keeping perfect time with the changes of the tune; and he afterwards executed by himself a kind of dance, probably a war-dance, with one of the double-handed swords spoken of before.

While this was going on, two of his canoe-mates were wandering about the main-deck, where the carpenters were at work, and who, after exhibiting the use of their tools, had imprudently neglected to put them away. A chisel was accordingly too great a temptation to one of our visitors, who snatched it up, and jumped overboard, through the port. Our friend soon found it out by some means or other; for he followed in full costume, and all the canoes shoved off a little way from the ship. I lowered a cutter, and sent Lieut. Payne to try to secure the chisel, more with the desire of showing our disapproval of the theft than recovering an article of such small value. The first canoe he pulled to pointed to the real offender, who paddled quickly to the shore, followed more leisurely by the others; and finding the chase would, even if successful, be a long one, I recalled our boat. I was sorry for this incident, as it was almost the only instance of dishonesty which occurred during the whole day. Indeed, for such a wild people, they seemed to have a remarkable regard for the rights of property. I was told that the same man who stole the chisel had shown a desire to appropriate one of the boatswain's axes; but I believe in both cases he would have proposed a bargain if he had had anything to give in exchange. Our people thought, from a

little distrust of us in the first instance, that the islanders were willing enough to receive, but forget to give an equivalent; but nothing of the kind was attempted during our barter. Somewhat ashamed of the trash we had given them in exchange, I repeatedly threw out of the stern windows black bottles, with a few fish-hooks attached, intending them as a free gift. They were eagerly seized; but invariably one or two spears were thrust upon me, whether I would or no; the canoes which had dropped astern to pick up the bottles paddling up with all their might to fulfil their share of the bargain. They seemed to have equal confidence in each other. If one could not pick up a bottle, he hailed a friend, who jumped overboard and secured it; nor was there any quarrelling or disputing among themselves. At the same time property appeared to be special, as the man or boy who handed up any article always received and appropriated what was given for it; nor did there seem to be any jealousy as to the very different prices received for the same description of things. Altogether they impressed me very favourably with their dispositions; nor did they seem to be at all wanting in natural capacity.

As we stood slowly along the land to the northward, the first batch which had left us under such unfavourable circumstances were succeeded by many others, who continued alongside till night, and even then departed with great reluctance. On one occasion of backing or filling the main-topsail, the two or three who were on deck, seeing our men doing something which they thought indicated our departure, rushed among them, apparently entreating them to remain a little longer. One of the canoes, keeping too close under the main chains, was, by the rolling of the ship, capsized, bottom up. The others did not appear to take much notice of the occurrence, which assured me of their safety. I had at first ordered a boat to be lowered to pick the people up as they dropped astern; but they

were soon joined by a friendly canoe, who assisted them, by getting upon the outrigger, to right their own, and keep her afloat till she was bailed out. They were at a considerable distance from the ship by the time this was effected, and were obliged to paddle back to the shore.

In the evening it fell calm, when more canoes came off, and, as it was full moon, they remained bargaining very anxiously. As I did not like the notion of taking them far out to sea, every kind of persuasion was tried to induce them to leave us, but in vain. A blue light was burnt, a rocket fired, and the drums and fifes were got up by way of giving them a farewell exhibition; but they seemed the more inclined to linger, many of them beating correct time on the canoes with the paddles. Our people were then all called inboard, and the ports closed; but in a few minutes one impudent, good-humoured fellow, who had been calling out for some time "Alofa" (the Samoan salutation), scrambled up by the main-chains into the hammock netting, and there remained, repeating something like a prayer, looking up to heaven, &c., and at intervals begging for knives or fish-hooks in return for one or two spears he had failed to dispose of, which were handed up to him by one of his comrades. Finding him successful — for we could not resist his impudence — another followed his example; so, as a finishing stroke, I dressed one up in a cotton shirt, and the other in an old coat, and forced them into their canoes. The sailors would have done it with violence; but of course this was not permitted, and we parted the best of friends. The boldness of these men, in thus forcing themselves on board in the face of two hundred and fifty Europeans, shows at all events that any mistrust of us exists no longer; and I have no doubt, if circumstances had permitted us to land, that we might have done so without any apprehension of opposition.[1]

[1] From information received afterwards, it is probable that the first mentioned of these men had been partly educated in Samoa. Two had also been

They seemed to be quite aware of the character of the ship (although I do not know that any vessel of war has touched here since Cook's time), as I heard "manawa" often repeated; but the arms and muskets did not attract much attention. One very wild-looking fellow who came on board knew the names of the Samoan islands when I repeated them to him; but having no good Polynesian linguist on board, we could understand them very imperfectly. Many of their ordinary words were the same as Maori (the New Zealand language), such as "wahine," woman; "kura," red; "matau," fish-hook, &c. &c. Some were great chatterers, and others quiet and retiring. They did not know the word "missionary;" nor do I believe there is a white man on the island. Captain Cook supposed the inhabitants to have been few. From our slight experience I should think them not scanty for a savage population. During the day we had upwards of twenty canoes alongside, with four persons in each; of whom only three were boys, and there were no women. Several canoes put back also in the evening, who were trying to reach the ship, and we sailed only along a few miles of the coast. At the same time, as mentioned before, we saw from the ship no sign of huts nor appearance of cultivation.

Our observations would make the island about nine miles in length from the south to the north-west point. When the former bore east (true), the latitude by meridian altitude of the sun was 19° 8′ 29″ S.; and we were only three miles off the north-west point at the time of afternoon sights for the longitude, which made it 169° 50′ 40″ W. Say therefore, north-west point, lat. 19·0° S.; long. 169° 50′ 40″ W.: south point, lat. 19° 8′ 29″ S.; long. 169° 44′ W. Captain Cook says, "the island is in 19° 1′ S., and

taken away, a few years since, by the missionary vessel on her periodical cruize, and they are now in the institution at Upolu for education as missionary teachers.

169° 37′ W., about eleven leagues in circuit," and he is seldom wrong.

At noon we had found the continuance of the westerly wind had caused the current to run thirty-four miles to the S. 54° E. in the last twenty-four hours.

On the 7th of July, in the morning, the breeze again sprang up from the S.W., but drew round gradually to the southward, and S.E. by E., where it settled (the barometer 30·05°), and might now be considered the regular trade-wind. The current, too, had as usual within its limits, been setting to the N.W., at the rate of half a mile an hour, being in the contrary direction to that experienced the day before.

At noon, having been steering to the N.N.W., we were in lat. 17° 47′ S., long. 169° 9′ W.; in nearly which position I found inserted in red ink on an old chart which had been formerly used on the station, "three small islands." Arrowsmith, in his large chart of the Pacific, said to be corrected up to 1844, places "three islands, populous," in lat. 18° S., long. 169° 25′ W. Nothing of the kind was to be seen from the mast-head on a very clear day; and I am satisfied they do not exist within sixty miles of the first-assigned position.

We found afterwards no person, native or foreign, at the Samoan group who had even heard of these islands; nor do I know on what authority they are inserted on Arrowsmith's chart. I am inclined to suppose that, as the position given to them differs but little in longitude from Savage Island, and exactly sixty miles in latitude, some master of a vessel has made the mistake of a degree in reading off his sextant at noon. In one position three points of Savage Island had somewhat the appearance of three separate islands, and in thick weather might have been mistaken for such. I can offer no other explanation of what I am convinced is an error.

Church at Manua.

Chap. III.—THE SAMOAN ISLANDS.

Manua—Tutuila—Harbour of Pango-Pango—The chief Maunga—Government of Tutuila—Fanga-saa—Great meeting—Review—Apia—Districts of Upolu—The "Malo"—The present war—Wrecking—The chief Malietoa—Discussion on the war—Great "Fono"—Vailele—Atua district—Lufi-Lufi—The war party—Malua—Leulamoenga—Retreat—Apolima—Manono—Ravaged country—Meeting with neutral chiefs—Resident white men—Character, habits, cosmogony, government, language, &c. &c., of Samoans.

At daylight, on the 8th of July, Manua, a name properly applied to the small group composing the eastern or weathermost division of the 'Archipel des Navigateurs' or Samoan Islands, was seen from the mast-head. The group in question consists of the three islands of Manua-tele (Great Manua) or Tau, Ofŏ, and Olosĭngă, and is that discovered by M. de Bougainville on the 3rd of May, 1768, who sailed along their northern side, passing afterwards to the southward of Tutuila. These islands are all lofty, marked land, Olosinga being a sharp peak, which appeared, when it bore north by west as we approached

it from the southward, to be connected with Ofo by a smaller sugar-loaf.

We were close up to the precipitous shores of Manua-tele by noon, and ran along the coast at the distance of about a mile, admiring the richly-wooded hills, fringed below with occasional cocoa-nut groves on a dazzling sandy beach, and bounded by a shore-reef only a few yards wide, on which the sea broke with a gentle ripple. On approaching the north-west point, the first village was discovered, offering the enchanting prospect with which all previous visitors to Polynesia have been so impressed—an effect we afterwards found rather increased than diminished on a closer acquaintance. The elliptical, open habitations of the natives were nestled among the trees, some plastered and whitewashed buildings (the church and missionaries' house) being the most conspicuous. On rounding the point, off which, at the distance of about two hundred yards, lies a rock, a few feet above water, with apparently a passage between it and the main land, another town made its appearance. The land here forms a bay, the water being smooth, with little or no surf on the beach; so we hove to, to communicate with the shore, where a few quiet-looking groups of people were beginning to assemble. A small canoe was launched and soon came off, containing two natives and a white man, who described himself as having deserted from an American whaler about two months ago, since when he had, with a comrade, been residing at this village, the name of which is Fĕlĕăsāu. He described the natives as remarkably kind to him and hospitable to all strangers, but the day being Sunday, which is strictly observed, they could not come off either to visit or trade with us. The missionary, Mr. Hunkin, he told us, resided at the first village we had seen, the name of which is Tau, one also often applied to the whole island instead of the longer appellation of Manua-tele.

I proceeded to the shore, accompanied by several of the officers, the American as an interpreter, and his two native friends, towing their canoe, which, from the outrigger having been broken alongside of the ship, had turned bottom up. The whole village had turned out to receive us with salutations of "Alofa" and the English greeting of shaking hands, which was gone through with the greater number of the crowd. I never saw a people more prepossessing in appearance and manner; the men were in general of large stature and well-formed, wearing only a petticoat, either of native cloth or blue calico, called the "lava-lava," with few exceptions, where a shirt or pair of trowsers was worn. None of them were tattooed about the face, but where the *lava-lava* was scanty I observed they sometimes were so on the belly, hips, and thighs, giving them the appearance of being clad in tight knee-breeches. A few women, both old and young, advanced without hesitation to shake hands, being all decorously dressed in a petticoat (the titi) round the loins, and occasionally a garment (tiputa) resembling a small poncho, with a slit for the head, hanging so as decently to conceal the bosom. One or two had straw bonnets of an English shape, which certainly did not improve their appearance. There were, however, several of both sexes with broken backs and deformed legs, and we were sorry to hear them all more or less afflicted with the hooping cough, which we were told had prevailed this year for the first time and had carried off a great number. We walked up to the beautifully-kept village, and entered a large house (the fala-tele), common to all, and which our American interpreter called "the town," where clean mats were spread for us, and we were invited to eat or smoke. This is, in fact, the house for the reception of strangers, who may remain as long as they please, their food being supplied to them by the inhabitants whilst they continue to make themselves agreeable—a condition

which it seems had been fulfilled by the two American seamen. Not having much time to spare, we started, with a large company of followers, to walk to the village of Tau, about two miles distant, where reside the chief of the island and the missionary. The walk, which was by a footpath crossing the spur of a hill and looking over the sea, was very beautiful, the road being kept in repair by delinquents, whom the chief may sentence to labour for a certain period in commutation of a fine. We were civilly received by the missionary Mr. Hunkin, who presented us to his wife, a native of the island, with some beautiful children. His house, which was somewhat on an European plan, was divided into separate rooms, but in the largest one the natives seemed to sit about without any restraint, though with perfect good manners. His influence appeared to be acknowledged by all; and the chief, Tui Manua, a good-natured looking old gentleman, when sent for at my request, came at once without ceremony. After mutual salutations, I told the chief (through the interpretation of Mr. Hunkin) that, having heard of the good treatment our countrymen had received at his hands, I wished, on the part of the British Government, to make him a present, desiring him to understand that it must not be estimated according to its intrinsic value, but as a token of the Queen's satisfaction at seeing the efforts of her subjects for the spread of civilization and religion encouraged, as in his case, by those in authority. Some shirts, a few yards of calico, a parcel of fish-hooks, and a cap were then placed before him, and graciously accepted. He was evidently surprised and much gratified, answering, with great composure and fluency, that he regretted not being able to express his thanks in English, feeling that to that people he owed the knowledge of the true religion. He descanted at same length on this point, and concluded by hoping that ere long the same success which had attended missionary exertions in Samoa, would be extended

to the nations to the westward, who were still in spiritual darkness. We regretted that our time did not admit of seeing them at church, to which they were about to repair, but, wishing the chief and Mr. Hunkin farewell, to whom I thought it necessary to apologize for our visit being made on a Sunday, returned to Feleasau, where we had left our boats.

We had a pleasant walk back to the beach, our company being increased by several people from Tau; they all took a great fancy to our young midshipmen, the boys holding them by the hand, and some of the men insisting, where the path was steep, on carrying them on their backs. On arriving at the village a few fishhooks and bits of tobacco were distributed, and I sought out and made a small present to the local chief, Tui Feleasau, whom we found very ill, apparently dying of consumption. Dr. Turnbull, our surgeon, visited him, but could only prescribe and present him with a cigar. Our regrets at parting were mutual, and many of them wished to accompany us, exclaiming, "Captain, me go ship;" but I resisted their entreaties. A few articles of clothing, &c., were given to the two Americans, who had no desire to leave the island immediately, preferring to await the arrival of an American vessel.

Mr. Hunkin, who we found was not yet an ordained clergyman, although he has resided here as a missionary since September, 1842, gave us, during our short visit, some interesting details concerning the group.

In 1835 two Rarotongans, the first Christian teachers, were placed here by the London Missionary Society, and three years afterwards four were added from the recent converts of Upolu. So successful had these men been in their mission, that Mr. Hunkin, on his arrival, found the whole population nominally Christian, with the exception of about thirty persons. They are all so at present, and for several years there has been no example even of poly-

gamy, a custom, one would suppose, the most difficult to overcome. In the whole group there are seven villages, all in a state of profound peace, although, at the time he first came to Manua, wars were so constant that the two villages of Ṭau and Feleasau had never had any friendly communication with another on the east coast only a few miles distant. Mr. Hunkin stated his conviction that cannibalism, in the case of prisoners taken in war, had existed among this people up to a late period. The missionaries in Upolu I found afterwards generally doubted the correctness of this assertion, but I remark that Mr. Hunkin, in a report printed in the Samoan Reporter of March 1845, says "There are some now alive who were fond to a most fearful degree of human flesh, who kept it for days, cooking it over and over again in order to keep it fit for eating till it might be consumed."

The copper-coloured, or, as they have often been termed of late years, the Malayo-Polynesian race, has hitherto been generally considered free from the reproach of this revolting propensity, and it would be unjust to attach the stigma to them without very complete evidence of the fact. Still our after experience tended to show that, when in communication with the black races, they have not exhibited that disgust or even dislike to the practice which would indicate their becoming acquainted with it for the first time.

Mr. Hunkin estimated the whole population of the Manua group at little more than thirteen hundred. He stated the excess of births over deaths during the last six years to have been *six*, but feared there would be a great decrease this year from the hooping cough, which had already carried off many.

The only whites residing at Manua were the two Americans mentioned before, and two Portuguese at Ofo or Olasinga: there was also a Hindu living at the latter island. All were well behaved.

Captain Wilkes, of the United States Exploring Expedi-

tion, surveyed and placed all this group, although he applied improperly the name of Manua to the largest island only. The coast of the latter seems quite safe to approach, and vessels occasionally anchor in the bay we stood into. In a line between its two heads we got soundings in thirty-four fathoms, sand, about five hundred yards off shore. Landing is not very easy, at least not very good for boats, as they must thread their way through coral patches to the beach, and at low water be dragged over in several places. The rise and fall of the tide seems to be the regular one of six feet or thereabouts. The canoes we saw were small, built of separate pieces of timber tied together, with the usual outrigger, and the covered part or deck ornamented with a row of white cowries (*Cypræa ovula*). The larger canoes seemed to be hauled up under thatched sheds.

Mr. Hilliard* (the master) made the position of the little bay of Feleasau by observations on board, lat. 14° 11′ 30″ S., long. 169° 29′ 45″ W.; variation of the compass 9° E. At 6 in the evening we bore up west-south-west for Tutuila, under easy sail.

9th July.—At 2 A.M., the moon shining brightly, we made the island of Tutuila, and at 4 rounded to to wait for daylight. In the morning the pilot for the harbour of Pang-o Pang-o, a native of Oahu, of the Sandwich Islands, made his appearance from the small island Aunūū, off the east end of Tutuila, in the usual canoe, with outrigger, &c., which we hoisted on board. The land has even a bolder outline than the Manua group, and the entrance to the harbour, which is the best in Samoa, is easily distinguishable at the central point between the two highest hills on the coast, that to the eastward being flat on the summit, and the one to the westward a tall sugar-loaf. There is a narrow bar or strip of soundings about three miles off the entrance, on which as little as four and a half fathoms is found in places, and is a good mark for the port (*see*

charts of the United States Exploring Expedition); and as a ship approaches, a small island covered with verdure is also seen to the left of the entrance, which, with the exception of a rock with ten feet upon it, correctly laid down in Captain Bethune's plan of Pang-o Pang-o, on which the sea occasionally breaks, is clear and easy of access. The pilot seemed to know the few dangers sufficiently to be able to conduct a ship to an anchorage, but a stranger, with the assistance of Captain Bethune's plan, would find no difficulty in entering with the ordinary trade-wind. At 11 A.M. we anchored in twenty-four fathoms off the village of Pang-o Pang-o, situated as those we had seen at Manua, in a shady cocoa-nut grove close to the beach, which, even in this deep harbour, is fringed by a narrow coral reef.

The hills surrounding the port rise abruptly from the sea, and are very grand, being covered with large trees, patches of cultivation appearing occasionally some little way up amidst the primæval forest.

We were soon surrounded by the natives in their canoes, bringing articles for sale or barter. These were principally fruit and vegetables; the few clubs and spears offered being of no great beauty of workmanship. The men were a remarkably fine-looking set of people, and among them were several above six feet high, with Herculean proportions. One stout fellow attracted attention as soon as he crossed the gangway, and I found that his arm measured above the elbow fifteen and a half inches, whilst that of one of our forecastle-men, probably the stoutest man in the ship, was but fourteen. A few wore cotton shirts, others the lava-lava of siapo, or native cloth, similar to the tapa of Tahiti, but the greater number were dressed with merely the titi, a most picturesque petticoat of fresh grass (the Dracæna terminalis), which set off their forms to great advantage. As at Tau, they seemed to be generally tattooed from the loins to the knees, which we were told was considered as answering the purposes of

decency in the absence of clothing, and it certainly had that effect in our eyes.

They were all in high spirits and good humour, shaking hands with all around them, with the usual salute of "Alofa," those who spoke a few words of English, picked up in whaling ships, in which one or two had made regular voyages, being very anxious to display their accomplishment. The barter was carried on with much activity and decorum, the value of money being tolerably understood by the natives, but calico, knives, or tobacco, were more generally asked for. Being fatigued, I did not go on shore, and the missionary (the Rev. Mr. Murray) and a gentleman who was described as the consul (Mr. Gibbons) being both absent at Leone Bay, a mission station about twelve miles to the westward, I had no news of any kind.

10*th July*.—As I was sitting down to breakfast Mr. Gibbons came alongside in a whale-boat rowed by natives, bringing with him Maunga, the chief of the district of Pango-Pango, so I invited them to sit down and partake, which they did. The former, a respectable Englishman, who settled on the island some years since, and married a native woman, is employed as an assistant missionary, as well as a kind of consular agent for Mr. Pritchard, who resides at Apia, on Upolu. The chief, a fine-looking young man, whose brother had been pointed out yesterday as one of the tallest of our visitors, wore a sailor's loose jacket and an ample flowing robe of coloured siapo. He was accompanied by his orator, or talking-man, an intelligent middle-aged person, dressed in a shirt. Before beginning to eat, the latter asked permission to say grace, and did so in a long prayer. After breakfast (when the tea, from its sweetness, was much liked) we walked them about the decks, where all objects seemed to attract attention, and to be carefully scrutinized. I had a gun cast loose and a few tubes fired, and astonished them by the ease with which such heavy masses of iron were moved about; but the

carpenter's work, as more in their way, was the most attractive. The turner, who was turning some small balusters, quite fascinated them, and they declared he must be very *wise*, and his trade the first of any. They then begged—as a great favour that I would allow the "fita-fita," or soldiers, to go through their exercise on deck, and were surprised when I told them all our sailors understood the use of the musket also. A division of small-arm men and marines was accordingly ordered up, and went through the manual and platoon. The chief asked, before the exercise began, if all his countrymen alongside might come up to see it; and permission being given, they, to the number of one hundred or more, were told by him to range themselves seated (that being the posture of respect with all the islanders) under the bulwark, and to make no noise. They could not contain the expression, however, of their surprise and gratification at the sight; and when the drums and fifes struck up, and the men marched round the deck, some exclaimed, "They thought they were in heaven." To conclude, a volley was fired, which I gave Maunga to understand was in his honour, and his people all retired to their canoes.

Maunga is scarcely known among them yet, he having only arrived a few weeks since from Manua, whence he has been summoned to take upon himself the office of chief. It is difficult, without a more intimate acquaintance with their customs, to understand either upon what principle a chief succeeds or is elected (for it seems a compound of both) to the dignity, or how far his authority extends. I suspect, from what we see and hear, only as far as his own decision of character may carry him; although some of his privileges, such as exemption from contribution to presents, right to a house, &c., are well defined, and of substantial importance. He is entitled to several attentions of etiquette, being alone permitted to blow a conch-shell in his canoe, and he is addressed, as in

some of the most civilized islands of the Indian Archipelago, in a regular language of deference. For instance, the hereditary appellation of the chief of Pango-Pango being now Maunga, or Mountain, that word must never be used for a hill in his presence, but the courtly term, which I have forgotten, substituted. This young man is a relative, but I do not know in what degree, of the former Maunga, who died a year or two ago, and is one of the seven ruling chiefs of Tutuila, each village or settlement having, besides, its inferior chief, or alii.

I am informed by Mr. Gibbons that the whole of the seven ruling chiefs of the island are Christian; so that, although some pagan villages exist on the east coast, the chiefs of which are pagan, the general policy, as determined by the great council, must be according to the principles of the Christians. This great council having determined that no part is to be taken in a civil war now raging in Upolu, and passed a law prohibiting all intercourse during its continuance, the pagans, although solicited by their friends in that island, and desiring to render them assistance, are obliged to submit to the prohibition. No one has ventured as yet to infringe it; and the penalty of doing so would probably be the burning down the house of the offender in his absence.

In the afternoon I landed, with several of the officers, at the head of the harbour, and, in company with Mr. Gibbons, Maunga, and five or six of his people, walked over to Fanga-saa, or Sacred Bay, situated on the north side of the island, adjoining Massacre Bay, where the unfortunate affray took place, in 1787, between the natives and the boats' crews of M. de Langle, which resulted in his death and that of eleven of his companions. The walk, which occupies little more than an hour, is by a tolerable footpath over a steep hill, the height of the pass being, as estimated by Captain Bethune, 625 feet, and through a dense forest interspersed with cocoa-nut trees. We stopped once or twice to breathe and drink the milk of the cocoa-

nuts, which the chief's attendants procured for us, climbing the trees, by looping their feet together to keep them from slipping, with great ease and quickness, and tearing off the thick husk with their teeth in a manner which would dislocate the jaw of an European. The cool milk is very refreshing, and the pulp, if the nuts are not too old, agreeable and wholesome. Our friends ate it with avidity; but we were told they were indebted to our presence for the treat, the cocoa-nuts at this season of the year being "saa," or tabued, and may, except when required for the use of chiefs or strangers travelling, be used only for making oil, this article being in fact the single one of commercial value which they produce.

Our approach to the village of Fanga-saa (a short description of which may, from the general similarity, serve for all in Samoa) was indicated by the provision-grounds, fenced with low walls of broken coral, in which, interspersed with bread-fruit trees, were growing bananas, yams, taro, and the ava pepper (*Piper mythisticum*). A neatly-kept path led into the village, situated under the shade of a cocoa-nut grove (the infallible sign of habitation among the islands), and only a few yards distant from the sea, on the borders of which were seen a few covered sheds for their larger canoes, the smaller ones being hauled up on the beach. The houses stand at irregular distances, and in no formal order; the path or street being, however, cleanly swept, as is the open space (or malai) in front of the large house (or fala-tele), which is common to all the inhabitants when meeting either for business or amusement, and is also the residence of casual strangers.

This house, although of larger dimensions, is of similar construction to all the others, forming an oblong with elliptical ends of about fifty feet long by twenty broad. Three posts, of from twenty to thirty feet high, support the ridge pole, which, with the surrounding line of posts of five feet high, form as it were the skeleton of the struc-

ture. The roof, which is constructed separately from the rest of the building, is composed of three parts, the centre and the two ends; the rafters of the former being parallel to each other, and those of the ends curved, and resembling an immense cabriolet hood. The effect of the latter is very singular and pleasing, and they, being of considerable length, are made of separate pieces of the wood of the bread-fruit tree, joined together by an ingenious scarf or joint. These portions of the roof, which are well thatched with the leaf of the sugar-cane, being elevated on the frame above mentioned, are securely lashed with cord made of cocoa-nut fibre, first to the lower row of posts, and then to each other, no nails or pegs of any description being made use of, thus leaving the whole house open to the height of five feet from the ground. Mats, suspended from the lower part of the roof, may, however, be let down when required; and the floor, which is raised some feet above the level of the surrounding ground, and paved with pebbles like many of our summer-houses, is covered with soft mats for sitting or reclining. Two wood fires are generally kept burning between the central posts, and the large ava-bowl made from the tamanu (*Calophyllum inophyllum*) occupies a conspicuous place. All cooking, however, is performed outside of the house, in the hot stone oven common to Polynesia; consisting merely of a hole in the ground a foot or two in depth, in which the food, either animal or vegetable, after having been cleaned and wrapped in banana-leaves, is covered up for a time (varying from one to four hours) with stones previously heated, the earth being filled in, and piled up in a mound to prevent the escape of the steam. When a stranger of consequence enters a house, a new or clean mat is almost always offered for his seat, and an air of freshness and cleanliness pervades the whole mansion. These houses occupy a considerable time in their construction, a regular tribe of carpenters being employed

for the purpose; and I was informed that a white man would probably have to pay 200 dollars for one of tolerable dimensions. When built, however, they are easily moved from one situation to another, the three compartments of the roof, which may be considered the chief part of the house, forming a load for two canoes, the two ends placed together occupying one, and the centre the other. Posts, being easily procurable, are seldom thought worth removing. In some of the Christian villages, chapels of coral, plastered with lime, have lately taken the place of buildings of the old construction, and the missionaries' houses are usually built of the same material. The native teachers have also learned to subdivide their houses into separate rooms, and we afterwards found that they had carried this and other domestic improvements with them to the New Hebrides.

Our arrival at the village produced some sensation and alarm, the inhabitants believing that I had come over to inquire into the circumstances of the detention for a day and a night, by some of their number, of a boat which had put into the bay for shelter a few weeks before, with the crew of an American vessel wrecked on some other part of the coast. The seizure had taken place on the old plea, that all vessels or goods thrown on the coast became the property of the inhabitants; but a remonstrance having been made by Mr. Gibbons on behalf of the crew, who had walked over to Pango-Pango, the boat was immediately given up, although it was suspected that a few articles had been stolen out of her.

We bent our steps to the common house, where, as is universally the custom, we took our seats in silence, the rules of politeness requiring that no questions should be asked, or business entered into, until the principal people of the place should assemble to welcome us. Mr. Gibbons, however, remarked that a coil of rope and a harpoon,

which had belonged to the detained boat, were laid in the middle of the house, as if waiting an opportunity of sending them over to Pango-Pango, having been *forgotten* when the boat was restored. Before long, a considerable number of people had arrived, including one or two chiefs of importance and talking-men, and the usual salutation having been given, which is supposed to include an inquiry into the business of the strangers, Mr. Gibbons began, all of us squatting in the proper posture, to address them in a low conversational tone of voice. On his telling them my visit had no reference to the affair of the boat, which had been given up after a slight opposition, great relief was manifested; and as soon as he had finished his speech, which announced my having come among them in a friendly way, and ended with an exhortation to behave to shipwrecked strangers in future in a Christianlike manner, the ava-bowl was ordered to be prepared. The younger part of the audience, who, men and women, were seated in an outer circle outside of the roof of the house, immediately started off, and returned in a few minutes with a few plants of the ava pepper. The root of this having been cut into short pieces and scraped, the lads, previously rinsing their mouths with water, proceeded to chew it, delivering the pulp when sufficiently masticated to the maker, who had carefully washed his hands, and seen that the large wooden bowl, standing on legs and highly polished on the inside, was perfectly clean. When enough had been chewed, which was the case in about ten minutes, clean water was poured in from cocoa-nut shells till the bowl was nearly full, and the whole was then mixed. A cloth, or strainer, made of the leafy fibre of some tree, was then handed to him, and the liquor filtered through it by taking it up as if by a sponge, and squeezing it back into the bowl. This operation having been performed two or three times,

the maker tossed the straining-cloth away from him, and proclaimed in a loud voice, "The ava is ready,"[1] an announcement followed by the whole party clapping their hands. Two men were then selected, one to call out in the proper order of precedency the names of those to whom the cup was to be offered, and the other to act the part of cupbearer. The duty of the former was performed in a loud singing tone, ending off with the person's name in a flourish; and the cup, a cocoa-nut shell, which from long use and the effects of the ava was highly polished on the inside, and had an agreeable smell, was handed round with much form and ceremony. The officers and myself having declined our share, the first was presented to Maunga, who, I remarked, called out to fill the cup up to the brim. Mr. Gibbons was next called, but begged to be excused; and the inferior chiefs and talking-men were then served, until the whole was finished. The cupbearer performed his office with much grace, holding the cup at first as high as his head, and quietly lowering and depositing it at the feet of the person to whom it was destined. I may remark, that in all meetings it is considered highly indecorous to sit with outstretched legs, the proper position being that of a tailor on his shopboard; and it would be an insult to pass anything over the legs or feet of a chief. These points of ceremony are, however, dispensed with in the case of Europeans, although the people always seemed pleased with our attempts, sometimes awkward enough, to conform to their customs. I regretted for this reason that I had excused myself from tasting the ava, particularly as its preparation is not so disgusting as the accounts of some travellers had led me to expect.

When the ceremony was over, Maunga, in the ordinary

[1] "Ava tua heka." I was told this was not properly a Samoan expression, but borrowed from another dialect, probably a corruption of Tongan. (Vide Mariner's Tonga, vol. ii. p. 199.)

quiet way, delivered a short speech, containing, as I was told, much good advice, and referring to the affair of the American boat; and he was replied to by one of the talking-men, who excused his people with much tact, on the plea that the chiefs were accidentally absent when the outrage was committed, and that the young men did not know what they were about. Mr. Gibbons told me that Maunga's address was his maiden speech, and that he was very nervous when delivering it; but this I did not notice, and it seemed to be very well received. A few words of kindness, and thanks for their hospitality, which Mr. Gibbons translated for me, gave great satisfaction; and after a general shaking of hands and "tofaa" (farewell), we left them, and returned to Pango-Pango.

We found, loitering about our boats at the head of the harbour, several of the young ladies of the district. One—a coquettish girl, apparently not more than fifteen years of age, although I was told she was at least three years older—was pointed out as a daughter of Pomale, a ruling chief, to whom the former Maunga succeeded, and she immediately received from us the title of "The Princess," by which she was distinguished during our stay. She was, as were all her companions, decently clad in native garments, wearing, besides the tiputa, described before as resembling a small poncho, a white mat or petticoat (made from the fibres of the hibiscus), and a necklace of coloured beads. Her hair was cut short, which, our informant told us, intimated she was ready for a husband; and her arms above the elbow were marked with scars as if burnt, which, we were informed, both sexes do with a piece of lighted stick when in love, to denote the fire of their passion. I gave her a pair of gloves and a few trinkets, and delighted her the more by making signs that I should burn my arms for her sake. This girl is called Maleia (Maria), and she has had some education, as, when asked, she wrote her name on a piece of paper for one of our officers. Although

associating familiarly with the other young women, she is looked upon as of a higher grade, being under the special care of the chief, who, with the consent of the council (or "fono"), will probably provide a suitable match for her. When visits of ceremony from other tribes take place, she is called upon to play the part of "te mai-tai," or great lady, and is then dressed in her smartest garments, and gives directions to the other women. Should she misconduct herself, however, or make a marriage without the consent of the authorities, she would certainly lose this position—one, probably, not much coveted; indeed she was said to have lately narrowly escaped from the wiles of a Tutuilan dandy, who had almost persuaded her to elope with him. Her companions were generally good-humoured looking girls, but the inferiority of their beauty, compared to that of the men, is most striking, and cannot be accounted for as in New Zealand by their being called upon to perform laborious and inferior offices, as they are here held in much higher estimation. The manly beauty of the young men is very remarkable: one in particular, who accompanied us to-day, and had decked his hair with the flowers of the scarlet hibiscus, might have sat for an Antinous. Their features are often beautiful, although the nose is somewhat flatter than with us; but this, I believe, is done by the mothers in the children's early youth as an improvement to their appearance. Before returning on board we were told that a meeting of the chiefs of this and the neighbouring districts was to take place on the following day to express their sentiments towards us, and to declare their intentions of non-interference in the civil wars of Upolu, which I was invited to attend.

11*th July*.—I landed at half-past ten at the head of the harbour, with my friend Captain Jenner of the 11th regiment, who accompanied me on this cruize, and several of the officers. We were met by Mr. Gibbons, who conducted us to the Fala-tele, where, as before, we seated

ourselves without any remark, merely giving the "Alofa" to those of our acquaintance who were near us—one of my boat's-crew depositing near us a bundle containing the presents which I intended for the chiefs. As some of these had to come from a considerable distance, they did not arrive until long after the appointed hour, for which they made many apologies, but were quietly, though seriously, remonstrated with by the others as having committed a breach of politeness. No time, however, would have been saved by our beginning the business of the meeting before their arrival, as etiquette requires that every part of the proceedings, even to the speeches of each person, must be repeated to a new comer, if he be a person of any importance. Indeed, from the first, their politeness and good manners struck us as equal to that of any country we had ever seen; and we had no reason to change this opinion after hearing their debates, as will afterwards appear. All having arrived, the ava was prepared with the same ceremonies as yesterday at Fanga-saa; and this time we all tasted it. Some debate seemed to be held as to the order of precedence, but Maunga insisted upon the cup being first offered to me, as the greater chief. A small taste satisfied my curiosity, and I fancied the taste to resemble (as Captain Wilkes did) that of rhubarb and magnesia, the root, which I had chewed before, having a slight flavour of liquorice. The cup was afterwards presented alternately to a Samoan and one of the "Papalangi," as all foreigners are called (the term Peritani, or Britons, being our distinctive appellation), our people's names being given to the singer or herald as their turn came, and much amusement caused by his attempts to pronounce them. Captain Jenner was called the General of the Fita-fita; Lieut. Pollard, "Missi Polladi;" Mr. Hixson, "Missi Hicki," &c. &c.; and all proclaimed in a tone which might be heard over the whole village. This ceremony being concluded, the business was begun by Mr.

Gibbons, who, having obtained the permission of the meeting, read the translation of a speech which I had drawn up on the occasion of making a present to the chiefs of Pango-Pango and Leone. After announcing the friendship of the Queen of Great Britain to Samoa, and Her Majesty's satisfaction at the spread of civilization and religion among them, and touching lightly on the duty of all Christian men assisting others who were in distress from shipwreck or other causes, knowing that this would be repeated to the people of Fanga-saa, I concluded by hoping that a knowledge of the prosperity they were enjoying from a state of peace might induce their neighbours of Upolu to bring their foolish war to an end, and offering to be the bearer of any communication they might think proper to send to their brethren on the subject, &c. &c.

The presents were then brought forward, and that intended for Maunga placed on a mat before him, an equal one being destined for the chief of Leone, a district where the Rev. Mr. Murray, the only ordained missionary in Tutuila, generally resides. Each consisted of a smart policeman's cap, a blue steel axe, a parcel of fish-hooks, one or two chisels, a few yards of calico, and some cotton shirts; to which I added, for their wives, a lady's reticule, a brooch, and a roll of gay ribbons.

As soon as the articles were displayed, Maunga took up one and placed it on his head, in token of acceptance and gratitude, and they were handed round for inspection and admiration. An old talking-man from Pango-Pango, whose age entitled him to the precedence, then made a speech, in which he was occasionally prompted by the other orator who had accompanied the chief on board the day before. It was translated to me as expressing their great attachment to Great Britain, whom they would always consider as their protector, especially as they knew they had enemies, and would perhaps require her good offices. This allusion, I regretted to find, was in-

tended to apply to France, and was doubtless suggested by the occupation of Tahiti, an occurrence which it is probable they had heard often discussed since the arrival of Mr. Pritchard, who touched here soon after that event, before proceeding to his present residence at Apia in Upolu.

With respect to war, the orator said "they could not fight, because the word of God forbade it; and not only would they refuse to join their neighbours in their wars, but should they be attacked themselves they would bow to the stroke." I do not believe this was to be interpreted literally, and have no doubt that this people, who were formerly proud of their reputation as warriors, would defend themselves if attacked by their Pagan neighbours; but it showed the dislike on the part of the Christians to a state of warfare, and their satisfaction with their present condition.

The meeting was next addressed by our first "talking" friend, in the same subdued tone, but with more fluency. The conclusion of his speech was amusing. After recapitulating all the benefits his countrymen had received from the "Peritani," the kindness with which we had treated them, he said, emboldened him to ask one parting favour from me; but he hoped, if it were too great to be granted, that I would pardon his presumption. It was this: that I would testify my "alofa" by allowing the soldiers to come on shore to go through their exercise,—a request proving that the "pomp and circumstance of war" had still some little charm for them, in spite of their peaceable determination. After saying a few words, in which I endeavoured to relieve their minds of the apprehension of any European enemies against whom our aid would be required, I agreed to the parting petition; and as the words left my lips, the mere spectators, who had been anxiously awaiting the answer, started up with delight, and ran off in the direction of the ships to see the

grand exhibition. The meeting dispersed more quietly, and Maunga, who had modestly desired to make no display of his bounty, then requested my acceptance, with many apologies for the smallness of the present, of a quantity of fowls and baskets of yams which several of the young men had been employed, while the business of the meeting was going on, in bringing and depositing behind my back. As the refusal of a present would have been a slight of the most offensive kind, I accepted the chief's offering and sent it on board for the use of the sick mess, with the necessary orders for the landing of a small-arm party with a field-piece. We found the whole population of Pango-Pango turned out to enjoy the sight of the disembarkation, particularly that of the gun, the wheels of which (probably the first they had ever seen) excited, when in rapid rotation, the greatest astonishment; and when our men in the limbers charged and knocked down with the carriage a low coral wall which crossed the beach-road, a general shout expressed their delighted surprise. After firing a few volleys and rounds of the field-piece, skirmishers were thrown out into the woods, and this mode of warfare, they said, impressed them more with the power of our arms, as they had been taught to believe that European soldiers could only act in bodies, and they had probably conceived the few evolutions we had gone through previously, as more for show than actual service.

Wars having ceased in Tutuila soon after the establishment of regular communication with white men, the people, although a few have muskets and can shoot pigeons, &c., are not in general supplied with fire-arms. The propriety of prohibiting the importation was lately discussed by the chiefs, but I was as well pleased that no reference was made to me on the subject, as I should have found it rather difficult to give an opinion. Although I should have been sorry to express any feeling but that of

dislike to war in general, yet I could not have recommended them to leave themselves defenceless when all neighbouring islands are armed. It is to be hoped, however, that when a regular stimulus to industry is afforded them, which is already beginning to be the case, the taste for war and conquest will (as in New Zealand) gradually become weaker among all the race.

This being Wednesday, when they have service in the chapel, the crowd dispersed to go thither as soon as our people had re-embarked. Maunga talked of making the ship "saa" for the day, to prevent them leaving their devotions; but I gave him no encouragement in compulsory measures, and we were soon surrounded with canoes, the chief himself coming off with Mr. Gibbons to dinner. He had left off his cloth jacket, but wore his new cap, of which he seemed very proud, and the more so when I decorated it with a gold band. After dinner he asked leave to sit on the carpet, as the position in the chair fatigued him, and he then seemed more at his ease. His conversation took a serious turn, and he puzzled me a little by asking my advice on some religious points, one being the propriety of his interfering against the teaching of a certain sect of Christian natives, whom he represented as spreading strange doctrines and exacting payment from their votaries in fine mats and other valuables. I believe the persons complained of are the remains of the followers of the Wesleyan missionaries, who occupied these islands almost simultaneously with those of the London Society, but afterwards came to a wise arrangement by which a distinct portion of the ample field for missionary exertions, viz. the Tonga and Feejee islands, was allotted to them. As it was not easy to explain to Maunga that differences in the form of worship did not affect the general doctrines, and as I was not aware whether these men were sincere or not in their dissent from the practice of the majority, I told him, as they all seemed conversant with texts of Scripture, that "a tree

was known by its fruits," and it was for him and his people to judge whether they should follow those who seemed to have only interested motives in their teaching, or those who without reward inculcated Christian charity to all men.

It was now time to depart, as we were to sail early in the morning; so, after many farewells, Maunga rubbing his nose with my hand, the greatest compliment he could pay, we gave him a parting tune with the drums and fifes, and, as he shoved off in Mr. Gibbons's whale-boat, burnt a rocket and blue-light, the light of the latter exhibiting his astonished countenance as he seemed to cast "longing lingering looks behind."

On our part there was a general feeling of regret in parting with these people, who are certainly the most agreeable to deal with of any I have ever seen in a similar condition. That this has been owing, in great measure, to their communication with a good class of white men, and to the teaching of the missionaries, no person who reads the opinions of the first discoverers with respect to these islanders is likely to deny. M. de Bougainville, who first saw them in 1768, thought little of their manners or honesty, and M. de la Perouse, who followed him in 1787, has described them as a set of barbarous assassins. Mr. Hamilton, the surgeon of H.M.S. Pandora, who published a meagre account of that ship's voyage and loss in 1790, speaks also in unfavourable terms of the Tutuilans, who, he states, after the ship's departure, attacked her tender in a regular and powerful body, but were repulsed with great havoc.

As the affray, however, with M. de la Perouse's boats in Massacre Bay (the first engaged in with Europeans) not only changed that accomplished navigator's opinion as to the proper mode of dealing with barbarous people, but has influenced that of his countrymen and others ever since, it is only an act of justice to the islanders, whom we

found so gentle and polite, to mention that the statements made to Captain Wilkes,[1] in 1840, of the massacre having been projected in consequence of the death of an individual of their number, who was shot alongside one of the French ships, is still insisted upon as correct; and indeed De la Perouse himself leaves it doubtful whether the natives were actually fired on or only threatened.[2]

It is also still asserted that the perpetrators were people of the neighbouring island of Upolu, who had come over to Tutuila on a pleasure excursion, and that the inhabitants took no part in the affray. Whether the latter assertion be true or not, seems doubtful, as Mr. Hamilton mentions some of "the French navigator's clothing and buttons" having been found on the Pandora's visit; but if the statement of the first aggression having taken place on the part of the French is correct, the whole case is materially altered, as few would blame even civilized men for endeavouring to avenge the death of a comrade under like circumstances.

The French commander has recorded that the savages had formed but a low estimate of the physical power of his men, compared with their own;[3] and after reading his account of the scenes which passed on shore, we may be pardoned for supposing that the islanders were not likely to be impressed with a notion of the moral superiority of the strangers. But whatever may have been the causes of the ferocious attack on the boats of the Astrolabe and Boussole, the success of which probably suggested that on the Pandora's tender, it is certain that a very different line of conduct on the part of the missionaries has since then perfectly succeeded in obtaining the respect, and conciliating the good-will, of this formerly barbarous people;

[1] Wilkes' Narrative, &c., vol. ii. p. 73.

[2] "M. Boutin me dit qu'il n'aurait pu les empêcher de monter à bord qu'en ordonnant de tirer sur eux."—*Voyage de La Perouse autour du Monde*, vol. ii. p. 129.

[3] Voyage de La Perouse autour du Monde, vol. i. pp. 151, 152.

while coercive measures, which have occasionally been resorted to on some of the neighbouring islands, have (as in New Zealand) only tended to prolong the period of barbarism.

It is much to be regretted that these people have as yet no stimulus to steady industry, there being few opportunities for the purchase of goods to improve their condition. The means of exchange they might soon acquire by the manufacture of cocoa-nut oil, which could be produced to a great extent. The process at present is of the simplest kind, being merely the scooping out the kernel of the nuts by hand, and leaving the oil to drip through the bottom of an old canoe, perforated with holes, into any vessel prepared to receive it. We saw on the beach one or two iron tanks, which the missionaries had procured for this purpose; and we were informed that their congregations had contributed eleven tons of oil to the Society this year, the value of which they estimated at 40*l.* a ton in London. Cotton and arrowroot might also be produced as articles of export, and any description of tropical vegetables grown in sufficient abundance to subsist a large population.

They have no cattle in this island; but pigs are plentiful, although they seem not to be used as daily articles of food, but only at feasts and on great occasions. We were told of an instance when 1700 pigs were killed at once, to celebrate the opening of a chapel in one of the districts; but this profusion is very properly discouraged by the missionaries. They have also poultry; but the principal articles of food are bread-fruit, taro, and bananas (all of which were sold alongside), and yams in the season.

Maunga sent me off a dish, prepared in the native hot stone oven, of taro-tops filled with a creamy preparation of the cocoa-nut, called palu-sami, which we afterwards met with occasionally at the missionaries' tables. When hot, it was not unpalatable, and is probably the same as the "fine puddings" which Mr. Hamilton says they

brought off to the Pandora. The ifi, or Tahitian chestnut, growing on a large tree, with deep buttresses, is also often eaten; and sweet oranges have been lately introduced from other islands. They thrive very well, but are as yet confined to the missionaries' gardens; and limes and citrons are plentiful.

We saw some of their larger canoes, in which they make voyages to the neighbouring islands. They are capable of holding fourteen paddlers, besides a sitter, and are similar in construction to the smaller canoes, although in addition to the floating outrigger they have a long spar projecting to windward, on which stands one of the crew, as ballast, regulating his distance from the gunwale according to the strength of the breeze. The one sail is of matting, narrow at the head, and set between two masts. They have no way of reefing, and are said to be often blown off the coast, and sometimes lost. They cannot beat to windward, although they seem to hold a tolerable wind, consequently for communication with Manua must await a north-wester, which even in the most regular season of the trades (viz. from May to November) occasionally blows for three days at a time. This, indeed, Maunga is doing at present, as he is about to bring to his new residence his wife and family, who are still in the windward group.

As at Tau, the people of Tutuila have lately suffered much from the hooping cough, which they say came to them from Upolu, whither it was brought from Tahiti about six months ago. It is to be feared that the population is decreasing, though not rapidly, and is now estimated by the missionaries, who have the means of knowing with tolerable exactness, at from 3600 to 3700 souls, having been called 4000 ten years since.

The principal disadvantages of the harbour of Pango-Pango, which is probably an extinct crater, are its depth of water, as a ship must go high up to have less than

twenty-four or twenty-five fathoms, and the difficulty of getting to sea should there be no land-wind, and the sea-breeze not set in sufficiently strong to work out by, in which case towing must be resorted to. We did not water; but there is a stream at the head of the harbour which boats can reach at high tide. There would be no difficulty in rafting casks off at any time; but the stream being the general bathing-place, an hour must be selected for filling them when the natives are otherwise employed.

Mr. Hilliard made the position of the observation-point on shore, lat. 14° 15′ 30″ S.; long. 170° 41′ W. The rise and fall of the tide did not seem to exceed three or four feet.

12*th July*.—As a light land-wind was blowing at daylight we had no difficulty in weighing and clearing the harbour, which we effected by seven o'clock, and picked up the sea-breeze as it set in. We looked into the Bay of Leone, where there seems a greater extent of level land, the village having the same appearance, with its surrounding grove and gardens, as the others, and, hauling round the S.W. point of Tutuila, steered for the N.E. point of Upolu, now in sight to the westward, at the distance of about thirty-five miles. At five P.M., having run along the north side of that island, past the bay of Fanga-loa, where there is tolerable anchorage, Savaii was also seen to the W.N.W.; and at seven we hauled to the wind for the night, having nearly run our distance to Apia, which we should probably have reached had we had two hours more of daylight. The reef along the northern side of Upolu does not extend above a mile from the shore, until to the westward of Apia, where there are several shoal patches about two miles off; and the reef itself is somewhat broader than off the east end. A regular bank of soundings (as laid down in Captain Wilkes' chart), of from twenty-five to forty fathoms, will enable a ship to keep her place off the port of Apia during the night. We allowed

ourselves to be drifted rather to leeward, but fetched up to the entrance in a single board, carrying in to the land the first of the sea-breeze about ten o'clock.

13*th July*.—The pilot for Apia, an Englishman residing at Vailele, a village two or three miles to the eastward, came off in good time, and carried us into the harbour, where we anchored and moored ship with the following bearings :—

East point of the bay, E. by N. ½ N.; British consul's flag-staff, S. by E.; small bower in 7, and best bower in 6½ fathoms. The berth, though rather far out, was not a bad one; we should, however, have had more room a little farther in.

As soon as we had anchored, our consul, Mr. Pritchard, came on board, and was received with the usual salute, as was Mr. Williams, the consul for the United States, who followed soon afterwards. The latter gentleman, although holding the above-mentioned office, is a British subject, being the son of the lamented Mr. John Williams, that distinguished man who, after planting missions in the Hervey and Samoan Islands, unfortunately lost his life in Eromango of the New Hebrides, by the hands of a barbarous people, on whom, stimulated by his success among the milder and more civilized races of Polynesia, he was aiming at conferring the advantages of a knowledge of Christianity. Mr. Pritchard is also well known to the British public as having been our consul at the Society Islands at the time of the occupation of Tahiti by the French, and for his resistance, on behalf of Queen Pomare, to their pretensions. He informed us that the civil war, of which we had so often heard at Tutuila, was still going on, and pointed out the olo, or native fort, on the point on the western side of the bay, called Molinūū, where the forces of Malietoa, the leader of the aggressive party, were assembled, to the number of eight hundred or a thousand men, and off which we could see some of their war-canoes

going through a kind of exercise. The paddlers, to the number of ten or twelve, were dressed up with red caps or turbans, whilst one, the warrior of the canoe, went through a variety of antics in the bow, occasionally squibbing off a musket, with which he alone seemed to be armed. We saw this ridiculous kind of manœuvring occasionally repeated during our stay, but never anything like concerted or general movements among the fleet. Indeed, we were told that such were never practised, any fighting which may take place being confined to one canoe on either side, the party of that in which the first man is killed or badly wounded, taking to flight immediately. To explain our after proceedings, however, a short account of the causes of this war will be necessary.

The island of Upolu consists of three tribes or districts—Atua to the east, Letuamasanga in the centre, and Aana to the west. The small island of Manono, with its dependency and fortress of Apolima (which will be spoken of again), may be considered as a fourth district, and these, when at peace, form a kind of loose confederation, governed by a council of the principal chiefs, who hold large meetings (or fonos), in which questions of general interest are debated. Some one district, however, has always been considered as the principal in the confederation, the Malo, or power (a word difficult to translate, and which will consequently be used in referring to the subject), which had previously been acquired by war, resting with it.

This *Malo* it has ever been a point of honour to obtain, but it has generally been employed merely in oppressing and plundering one of the other tribes, by occupying their lands and seizing their provisions, until the sufferers are either sufficiently exasperated, or feel themselves strong enough to seek redress by war. A war is not considered at an end until the conquered party (which may consist of more than one tribe) makes, with many degrading ceremonies and promises, full submission to the victors, when

they are allowed to return to the lands from which they may have been driven or may have evacuated, liable, however, to a recurrence of oppressive exactions on the part of the Malo. The different tribes and districts of the neighbouring islands have generally taken part in these wars, as their interests or inclination prompted; but in the present case such participation has been confined to Savaii, as both Tutuila and Manua have altogether renounced war. Even in Upolu the force of Christian principle has caused, for the first time, the formation of a neutral party, composed of a part of every district except Manono, and including a considerable portion of Savaii. This neutral party, among whom I found some very intelligent chiefs, is actuated solely by a religious feeling in abstaining from taking a part in the contest, and their determination is the more remarkable, as in most cases they are equal sufferers with the belligerents, being kept out of possession of their lands by the Malo.

At the time of M. de la Perouse's visit in 1787, the people of Aana are said to have been the greatest warriors in Upolu, and to have held the power in their hands until about the period of Mr. Williams's arrival in 1830, when the people of Manono, assisted by old Malietoa, of Letuamasanga, half-brother to the present chief of the same name, gained the ascendancy, and have retained it ever since. Owing probably to the exertions of the missionaries, their power appears to have been exercised so leniently, that Captain Wilkes says in 1839 it was called the "Malo-to-toa, or the gentle government." Although occasional quarrels have disturbed the peace of Savaii, yet the tribes of Upolu remained quiet until 1847, when, offence having been taken by a Manono chief against some of the people of Aana, the latter, fearing hostilities, deserted their lands in a body, and took refuge with their friends in the district of Atua. A gentleman of the mission told me that jealousy of the flourishing state of Aana and the

superiority of the buildings and chapels of that district, had occasioned a bad feeling on the part of Manono, and that any pretext was seized upon for destroying these proofs of their rival's increasing power. It was also said, but I am disposed to doubt the correctness of the report, that another cause of dissatisfaction was a proposition which had been started by the Aana chiefs, that the sovereignty of Samoa generally, should be offered to Great Britain, a proposal which, it was added, met with universal approval, although the fact of its having originated with a tribe not holding the Malo was an offence not to be overlooked. After a few movements and skirmishes of no importance, Manono, who, having been joined by Letuamasanga, had ravaged the lands and burnt the houses of the Aana district, proceeded to attack them and their allies of Atua, in the country of the latter tribe. Here, on the 17th of July, a severe battle took place, when upwards of a hundred men (an immense number, according to Samoan notions) were killed on both sides, and many more badly wounded. The Manono people, having been worsted in this engagement, retreated upon the point of Molinuu, within a mile of the village of Apia, which remained neutral, where they fortified themselves, and, having been reinforced by a party from Savaii, proposed to carry on the war, the Aana forces remaining at two strongholds in the Atua country, the more accessible being Lufi-Lufi, a village, of which the harbour (termed Saluafata) is situated about twelve miles to the eastward of Apia. This village was surprised in September last by a party from Molinuu, who succeeded in massacring twelve persons, men, women, and children, thus reviving the cold-blooded ancient practices, which it was said had, by common expressed consent of all the tribes, given way to a more civilized mode of warfare. Since that time the whole force of Manono had attempted the invasion of Atua by sea without success, and skirmishes, attended

with some loss of life, had occasionally taken place between foraging parties in different parts of the island. The missionaries complained much of the bad effect of this state of affairs on many members of their congregations, who had joined the belligerents, and were said to be relapsing into pagan habits; but the principal evil was certainly the depopulation of the whole district of Aana, the most productive of the island, which the Malo did not attempt to occupy, but only to ravage when it suited their inclination. To an outward observer, the desertion of a country, in this climate, gives it, from the rapidity of vegetation, a more luxuriant appearance, if possible, than before, so that it is not until entering it, and seeing the burned houses, the felled cocoa-nut and bread-fruit trees, and the rooting-up of the taro-patches, that a stranger becomes aware of the wanton destruction of property, and consequent misery, which so childish a system of hostility occasions.

An event had occurred, however, about the time of our arrival, which seemed to offer some hope that an accommodation might be effected between the contending parties. Two chiefs, one of Aana, named Alepia, and another of Atua, Morio, having quarrelled with their own people, went over to the Manono party, and publicly performed homage to them as the Malo, for lands of which they were owners in their own districts respectively. Meetings were held accordingly by all the chiefs of Manono and her allies, to consider the proper course to be taken on the occasion, when it was determined that the whole party from Molinuu should, in a few days hence, convey Alepia by sea to Aana, and there put him in possession of his lands as their vassal, taking down a house, which they are to erect on the ground as a token of occupation. As the country is deserted, this will be done without resistance, and it is also understood that the Aana people, being resolved not to become aggressors in the war, will take no notice of the insult, having contented themselves with

deposing Alepia from his dignity of a chief, and bestowing it on his half-brother, a boy under age. The case of Morio is a different one. To fix him in Atua the Manono people must force their way into the country, a strong measure which they are not, after the bad success of their attempted invasion, inclined to venture on; and however forbearing their enemies have shown themselves hitherto, they cannot be expected, with their superiority of numbers, to submit to such outrage and degradation. This chief's case, therefore, stands over for further consideration, and, were the quarrel of the Aana people settled, would probably not be allowed to interfere with a general accommodation.

A circumstance connected with this affair had taken place which made me suppose that the Manono party would be induced to listen to reasonable terms. Their allies from the neighbouring island of Savaii, tired of a war which detained them from their homes without the prospect of any advantage whatever, had eagerly seized upon the fact of Alepia's submission as a pretext for concluding an immediate peace, which they had accordingly proclaimed at a general meeting, and announced their determination to return to their own island. This proceeding, being a great breach of respect to the Malo, I afterwards found rather operated unfavourably towards a settlement; the honour of Manono requiring that the services of their allies should not be considered indispensable to their success.

Supposing, however, that Malietoa, nominally the head of the party, might be disposed to listen to the reasonable opinions of a disinterested person, I determined to offer my mediation first to him, and afterwards to the chiefs of the opposite party assembled at Lufi-Lufi, and requested Mr. Pritchard to send a message to Malietoa, inviting him to visit me on board the following day. This man, now considered the leader of the Malo, is not actually a chief of Manono, but of the central district of Letuama-

sanga, his principal property and residence being at Sangāna, four or five miles to the westward of Apia; his family seems to be considered the first in Samoa, and to this alone he owes any pre-eminence—command, I am told, he has none. A few years since, he succeeded to the title or appellation on the death of his half-brother, an old chief, who was very instrumental in procuring the peaceable settlement of the missionaries in 1830, but he himself has never joined a Christian congregation. The only advantage proposed in addressing a leader of so little personal influence is, that the arguments used to him will certainly be repeated to the other chiefs, with the majority of whom the question of peace or war actually rests.

It was doubtful, indeed, whether these would be disposed to listen to British mediation, as they considered themselves somewhat aggrieved by an event which happened last year. In August, 1848, H.M.S. Calypso, which had been ordered by the Commander-in-Chief in the Pacific to visit these islands, arrived at Apia soon after the district of Aana had been ravaged by the Malo. As Malietoa had been previously warned that he would be held accountable for any losses sustained by British subjects through the acts of his party, and as several buildings and provision-grounds claimed as belonging to them and other foreign residents had been involved in the general destruction, our consul, Mr. Pritchard, induced Capt. Worth to demand an indemnification amounting to the sum of 1600 dollars, or an equivalent in fine mats, which may be considered as the currency of the country. In default of payment of the whole amount claimed, several war-canoes were seized by the Calypso, and, after her departure, remained in the consul's possession until regularly redeemed, no attempt having been made to recover them by violence.

Although apparently acknowledging its justice, the tribes were not disposed to relish this interference in what

they considered their domestic quarrels. After the payment of the last instalment, therefore, when the Rev. Mr. Sunderland, whose chapel in Aana formed the principal item in the bill presented to Malietoa, waited upon the chiefs of the Malo at their fort of Mólinuu, and offered, as the usual means in Samoa of effecting a reconciliation, to return the exacted indemnification, the goods were, after a discussion, haughtily refused, and were accordingly placed in the custody of Mr. Pritchard, where they still remained. As no question had since arisen, however, in which British interests were in any way involved, I had no demands to make on either party, and did not despair of being able to effect a reconciliation.

In the evening I landed, and visited Mr. Pritchard, who resides in a small but commodious house in the bay, situated on a piece of ground at a short distance from the village, which he had purchased from one of the chiefs as the site of the British consulate.

Mr. Pritchard, whose consular authority at this time extended over the Society, Friendly, and Navigators' Islands, had, by orders of our Government, exchanged his residence at Tahiti, in the former group, after the establishment of the French protectorate in that island, to his present one in Upolu, where, as mentioned before, he arrived in July, 1845. It may be readily supposed that the arrival of such a functionary was not by any means agreeable to the lawless Englishmen who were accustomed, in greater numbers than at present, to infest these islands, and that, as Mr. Pritchard complains, every effort was made by men of that description to prejudice the chiefs and people against him. For a considerable time, therefore, no one was found willing to sell or even to lease (an arrangement which is partly understood) a plot of ground on which to erect a dwelling. The nature of his appointment seems not to have been properly explained

to the chiefs, and other causes concurred to make his situation very disagreeable. He had brought with him from Tahiti several young horses and mares, the first ever seen by the inhabitants, who were perfectly ignorant of their use; and these, running about wild, and breaking through enclosures intended only to keep out pigs, destroying the young breadfruit-trees and frightening the children, excited at last the anger of the natives, who took revenge by spearing one or two of them during the night. No compensation could be obtained, for the perpetrators were never discovered; but the Samoans are a gentle and a polite people, and matters soon improved. In July, 1846, for instance, a British schooner (the Breeze, of Hobart Town) having been wrecked on the reef near Apia, and plundered by the people of the neighbourhood of several articles, these were not only recovered by the exertions of Mr. Pritchard and the missionaries, but the natives submitted to a fine of 300 dollars, or an equivalent in cocoa-nut oil, imposed by the consul on his own authority. The Samoan 'Reporter,' after relating the occurrence, remarks,—

"We would by no means palliate the covetous and deceitful disposition of the natives, or say a word to screen them from the charges of unkindness and plunder; but it is right to state that they have been accustomed to look upon wrecks as lost property, that may be carried off by the most daring and dexterous, the first who might obtain possession, or the most powerful party. It is, however, gratifying to know that the labours of the missionaries have greatly lessened those evils of heathenism. We believe there are now few places on the islands where conduct similar to the above would occur; and, even in the present instance, the influence of the missionaries and the moral power of religious instruction prevented any extensive or serious evil from taking place."

It may indeed be doubted if, on many parts of the coast of civilized England, an affair of the kind would have been so easily and satisfactorily settled.

Mr. Pritchard was soon enabled to procure from the

chief to whom the land belonged, first a lease, and afterwards the sale, of as much ground as he required for his residence at Apia, and he has since acquired some private property near Saluafata, which he has stocked with cattle. Captain Maxwell, of H. M. S. Dido, who passed a fortnight among the Samoan islands in January, 1848, anxious to remove from the minds of the natives all doubts as to the true position of Mr. Pritchard, accompanied him to the principal stations in the islands of Upolu and Savaii, and presented him to the several chiefs as Her Majesty's consul. The nature of the duties, as well as the rights connected with the office having been explained to them, he was everywhere well received, and, his influence being now fully established, there can be no doubt that it may be constantly exercised to the advantage both of his own countrymen and the inhabitants of the islands.

14*th July*.—At 10 o'clock this morning the concerted signal was made from the consul's flag-staff, that Malietoa had arrived from the fort, and I sent a boat for him accordingly. He came on board, accompanied by one of his sons named Pea, and his nephew Moli, a man much older than himself, and, with the exception of a large wen or goitre on his neck, of very prepossessing appearance. It proves the irregular character of this war, and the little authority a superior chief can exert even over the members of his own family, that both these attendants (the son quite a young man and the nephew a missionary teacher) belong to the neutral party, as do all the inhabitants of Apia, where they are now residing. Malietoa himself, apparently about thirty-five years of age, has a mild expression of countenance, and is very quiet and gentlemanlike in his manner. He was dressed neatly in a long white linen coat, and one of the fine mats made from strips of the pandanus-leaf ornamented with a border and tufts of red worsted, hanging from his waist nearly to his feet. Moli had also a white shirt and mat, but Pea

was naked, with the exception of a petticoat of blue calico. After a few words of greeting they walked over the ship, making intelligent remarks on all they saw, the turner's, as before, being the favourite occupation. On our return to the cabin, the chief being seated cross-legged on a sofa, and Mr. Williams, who, being perfectly acquainted with the language, kindly acted as interpreter, having arrived, we began our conference, I, after saying a few words on the folly of war in general, and of this one in particular, as being without any reasonable aim, offering to become the mediator between the parties, and representing to Malietoa that the intervention of an impartial person was the mode best calculated to bring about a peace honourable to both, and, as such, generally adopted by European nations to settle their differences. He replied, through Moli, by thanking me, with all the forms of Samoan politeness (as numerous as the Spanish, and often resembling them), for taking any interest in their affairs, but explaining that he had no power or authority to treat apart from the other chiefs, and that in fact the principal obstacle to a settlement at present, was occasioned by a part of Savaii taking upon themselves to declare peace, to which exclusive privilege (giving it a peculiar term in his own language which I do not remember) they were not entitled, thus making it necessary, for the honour of the Malo, that the war should still continue. As he said that the Savaii people would be obliged to abide by the general decision of the party in spite of their peaceable inclinations, I exhorted him not to trust to the co-operation of an unwilling ally; and although he had made no allusion to the fine imposed upon him by the captain of the Calypso, I thought it as well to remind him of the losses he had already suffered, and of the calls which might possibly be made on him on account of British property, should more be destroyed in the course of the war. He acknowledged the force of all these arguments, but, as he had evidently

nothing more to say, we retired to luncheon, when, having eaten and drunk very sparingly, Malietoa and his son were landed at the fort, Moli remaining on board, feeling, as all persons connected with the mission do, perfectly at home with us. It was evident that he was very desirous of seeing peace re-established, for although, from respect towards Malietoa as the head of his family, he had taken no part in the discussion while the chief was present, he now hinted to me, with great tact and delicacy, that Malietoa was obliged from his position to speak the sentiments of others, and that in fact many of the most professedly warlike chiefs were tired of the contest, so that a few words from me to those in the fort would probably, in spite of Malietoa's rejection of the proffered mediation, have great effect in influencing their decision.

I decided therefore upon returning Malietoa's visit at once, as he had told us that a great council was to be held on his arrival from the ship, and I thought an opportunity might offer for me to say something with advantage. In the afternoon, accompanied by Mr. Pritchard, Mr. Williams, Captain Jenner, and one or two of the officers, I landed at the point of Molinuu, and walked up through the huts which had been constructed as temporary habitations, during the occupation of the fort, to the malai or open space where the meeting, consisting of three or four hundred persons, were seated under the trees in separate groups, according to their respective districts. In smaller meetings held in the common house, the orators speak sitting in their places, but in these more formal assemblies the speaker stands up, leaning on a staff (for which in time of war a spear is often substituted) and holding in his hand a fue, or fly-flap, which is considered a kind of emblem of oratory. Each orator is supposed to deliver the sentiments of his own town or district, speaking often in the first person, but expressing always the tribe's collective opinion. Great importance is attached and atten-

tion paid to precedency, each district having its assigned place, although the order is sometimes disputed; and we were told that, in the event of two rising to speak at the same time, the rivals will remain standing for hours, and no business can go on until one yields, with the consent of his friends, the right of speech to the other, the meeting remaining perfectly quiet all the time, and no apparent acrimony being exhibited on either side.

A scene of the kind was actually going on as we arrived and took our seats by Malietoa and his people, two rivals standing up leaning on their staves, each occasionally addressing in a low tone a few words to the other to induce him to give way. A third person rose once, but failed in persuading either to sit down, but, when rather more than half an hour had passed, the younger of the two, after declaring that "the staff on which he leant was well known to all," which was an expression implying a protest against surrendering his proper place, yielded the right of speech to his older neighbour.

The orator then, after thanking his friend for his courtesy, and addressing each chief of importance by his title (or, as Mr. Williams translated it, his classical name), and not omitting us the Papalangi, proceeded in his oration. He was a chief of Savaii, and one of the party in that island which was for continuing the war, his reason for desiring to do so being a doubt of the stability of any peace which had not been brought about by a decided advantage on either side, and he urged his party never to forget the jeering songs which their enemies had made upon them, until the insult had been fully avenged. He spoke with great fluency, exciting alternately the applause of the meeting expressed by a low murmur of "Malie, malie!" (sweet or good), and answering exactly to our "Hear, hear!" or a quiet laugh, as he adopted a serious or ironical tone. After a quarter of an hour's speech he was followed by a more peaceably disposed chief from the neighbourhood of

Apia, who, I understood, proposed that, if no opposition were offered to Alepia, who was to be taken down in a few days and placed in possession of his lands, at least those persons of Aana who adhered to the neutral party should be allowed to return to theirs.

An adjournment was then moved by another, who rose and excused himself from naming all the chiefs, as he only intended to propose to separate, and finish the discussion on another day; and the meeting dispersed. I soon saw that, the debate having turned upon particular points which they had been called together to discuss, any intrusion on my part would be ill-timed, and accordingly said nothing. It was impossible, however, not to be struck with the decorous, and even highly-polished, manners exhibited here, as at the smaller meetings in Tutuila. The business of this large assembly, where many different opinions prevailed on an important subject, was conducted in a way which would have done credit to the British House of Lords or Commons; nor could the speeches we had just listened to, little as we could understand them, fail to remind us of those of Lucius and Sempronius, so familiar to schoolboys. Having taken leave of Malietoa, we strolled to the palisade which had been run across the neck of land a few hundred yards from the point, and formed the land defence of the fort. It resembled somewhat that of a New Zealand pah, being of upright posts of cocoa-nut wood, with an external ditch, but of little strength. The entrance was tolerably well constructed, as a kind of circular bastion or redan, with flank defences and a few loop-holes for musketry made of hollow wooden pipes, which they say are copied from the Tongans. It is customary for the guard at the entrance of a fort to exact a small toll from all passers, of a piece of tobacco or something of the kind. This palisade, however, having been built across the high road, our consul had refused to pay the exaction, and they had never in consequence insisted upon it from

him or other foreigners. They never attempted to ask anything from us.

The whole population of the fort was estimated at 1000, of whom about 800 were fighting-men. We saw, however, so many women and children that I thought the numbers under-rated. They were, both men and women, much less clothed than the peaceable portion of the community, although they number many Christians among their ranks. There was no great display of arms; we saw a few muskets, and occasionally a bayonet on the end of a stick, besides their native spears and clubs; but they said, although I doubt the truth of the statement, that they had plenty of small arms and ammunition.

A French Roman Catholic priest resides in the fort at present, but he did not make his appearance; and one of the English missionaries often comes and preaches to such of his own community as are here.

15*th July.*—This being Sunday we had church service on board, at which most of the English inhabitants of the bay, to the number of ten or twelve, attended. The day is strictly observed by the natives of Apia, who are principally Christians, so we had none on board as visitors. In the afternoon some of the officers went on shore to see the native church and children's school, under the charge of the Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Mills, which they described as well attended. The Rev. Mr. Hardie, the missionary at Malua, a village about eight miles to the westward, came up last night, and preached to-day in the fort.

16*th July.*—After a very hot forenoon, we borrowed two or three young horses from Mr. Pritchard, and rode out in the afternoon to visit Mr. Williams, at Vailele, about four miles to the eastward. The road along the beach was very good, but we had to ford one or two streams. We found Mr. Williams and family occupying a very comfortable two-storied house, overlooking the sea, and surrounded by some garden-ground. The Samoans seem to

have no objections, either men or women, to serve as domestic servants for regular wages. Deformed persons, being looked down upon by their own countrymen, we remarked were constantly thus employed by Europeans. Half-caste girls, the offspring of white men and Samoan women, we occasionally saw engaged as nursery-maids or as upper servants. Most of these had been well educated by Mrs. Mills, at Apia, who has a regular boarding-school, exceedingly well conducted. We were hospitably entertained by Mrs. Williams, and rode home in the evening. A fine Americau schooner had been standing off and on the port all day. She professed to be a whaler, but her chief object in coming among these islands was probably to trade for cocoa-nut oil, tortoiseshell, &c.

We bought several of the beautiful doves or pigeons, often tamed by the natives, and tied to sticks by long strings, so as to enable them to use their wings occasionally. One kind, brought from Savaii, to which island it is said to be peculiar, is much prized, being exquisitely coloured, a bright maroon and white. I tried to carry several alive to Sydney, but they did not thrive, and the last one died the day we entered Port Jackson.

17*th July*.—In prosecution of my intention to visit the chiefs of Aana and Atua, I left the ship this morning a little after four o'clock, with Mr. Pritchard, Captain Jenner, and Lieutenant Pollard, for Saluafata, close to which harbour lies the village of Lufi-Lufi, the capital of Atua, where councils are to be held both of the allied chiefs and the neutral party, of whom many are there assembled. We pulled up inside of the reef, which can only be done within an hour or two of high water, and landed at Salafuata at seven.

Mr. Williams had preceded us in his own boat, and gone on to the house of Mr. Drummond, the missionary at Lufi-Lufi, while we were received on the beach by the Rev. Mr. Buchanan, and conducted to a temporary house

which he was occupying, where his very agreeable wife welcomed us, and where a good breakfast was awaiting our arrival. We afterwards strolled on a mile further to Lufi-Lufi, where we found Mr. Drummond and his guests going to morning prayers, at which Mr. Pritchard (who, although not now regularly connected with the mission, is still acknowledged as an old member) was invited to officiate. Mr. Drummond had only that morning moved into a new and handsome house, which he had been building for the last year or two, principally at his own expense. It was a long, commodious structure, of coral plastered, with good rooms, arranged and finished in the European style, with the exception of a ceiled roof, which in this climate would be inconvenient, as impeding the circulation of air. The mason-work and plastering had been done by the natives; the carpentry—viz. doors and sills, window-frames and sashes, &c.—by an English carpenter, who had immigrated from Wellington in New Zealand. For most of the latter purposes the tamanu (the wood of which is as hard and as beautifully veined as mahogany) is used; and I observed a bookcase, made by the same man, of a timber he called "toi," of different shades of red and yellow.

As soon as prayers were over we walked to the village, entering first a house where were seated several chiefs of the neutral party. They received us with the usual politeness, but told us the heads of the war party were met at a neighbouring house, hoping to see us, and they begged we would go thither, which we did, and had an interesting and pleasing interview. On my telling them of the offer of mediation I had made to Malietoa, and repeating it to them, the principal speaker replied, that their earnest wish was to make peace; that, in fact, they were carrying on no war, but were only defending their lands and lives; and that the sin and blame rested with the Manono party, who, a few months ago, in that very house in which we sat, had, after pledging themselves that such a mode of

warfare should never be resorted to again, surprised them one morning before daylight, and cruelly massacred several of their unresisting countrymen. Many thanks were expressed for my taking an interest in their affairs, and I was requested to await the result of a great council to be held the next day, when, if it were determined that the neutrals should return to their lands, which had been proposed as a test of their enemies' future intentions, they hoped I would accompany them. This request Mr. Williams explained was to be understood rather in a figurative than in a literal sense, as intended to elicit some expression of approval of such a step, and I answered accordingly in a corresponding tone. As both the right, and in a military point of view the might, are clearly on the side of Aana and Atua, the most desirable consummation would undoubtedly be (supposing these people to be capable of undertaking a war on true principles), that they, joined by the neutrals, should at once drive the Manono people and their allies into the sea at Molinuu; while, as a diversion, a small party in canoes might seize Apolima, which is occupied at present only by the women and children of those engaged in the war.

I confess I longed to advise them all thus to unite and overwhelm their boastful enemies, but contented myself with telling them that, much as I wished to see them all at peace, I could not, being myself a military man, pretend to say that all fighting was unlawful, but I considered it their bounden duty to defend their homes if attacked. I was also pleased to see, on alluding to the case of Morio, whom the others would, if they dared, bring up and forcibly settle in Atua, thereby treating it as a conquered country, that such a proceeding would at once be met on the part of these people by a vigorous resistance.

Unfortunately, it appears that here, as in other districts, there is no leading chief under whom they could trust themselves to unite. Those who were pointed out as the

most eminent were two old men, Tui Aana and Inu or Mana, but they evidently had little or no authority.

The great council on the following day was to consist of all the neutral chiefs as well as their own; and among the former we met old Pea (as he is usually called), for many years the chief of Apia, who had just arrived to be present at it. He is a man of immense size and bodily strength, apparently sensible and good-natured; dressing on great occasions, such as the present, in the usual flowing robe of coloured native cloth, surmounted by an old black coat, of a court-dress shape, giving him the appearance of an actor in some strange comedy.

As I could not remain another day to attend their deliberations, they promised to acquaint me with the result as soon as possible, and we parted with many good wishes and squeezes of the hand.

After lunching at Mr. Drummond's we walked back to Saluafata, where, at the house of Mr. Buchanan, we found Mr. Pritchard in discussion with a ferocious-looking fellow, who, with an angry, scowling countenance, was sitting in the centre of the floor, twirling his club. It appeared that this worthy, whose real name was Sanga-polo-tele, had, a short time since, sold some land in this neighbourhood to Mr. Pritchard, but had refused occupation to a man whom the consul had sent down as a tenant. This the chief denied, although he acknowledged that he had himself taken some bread-fruit from the land since the sale, because it was rotting on the trees; and he added that he would at once have made compensation, had he not been informed the day previous that the consul was coming here, bringing the captain of the man-of-war to *judge him*, a report which had excited his wrath.

I was not sorry to have an opportunity of correcting an erroneous notion which is constantly impressed by white men on these people, that ships of war only come for the purpose of settling by force the private disputes of their

countrymen. I accordingly desired that it might be explained to all present, in the clearest manner, that such was not the case, and that I should never interfere in private matters which ought to be settled between the chiefs and the consul, unless any decided injustice or excess should be committed and amends should be refused. I begged that Mr. Pritchard would express his concurrence, knowing that his doing so would strengthen his authority, which he did, and good humour was immediately restored.

I found that this chief, although of high position, was looked upon by his own people pretty much in the light that a wild fellow, constantly making disturbances with the police, would be with ourselves. He lately proposed to become the head of a permanent war-party, or standing army, who were to be supported at the public expense, and devote their lives to war and harassing their enemies. This proposal, being quite opposed to the national habits, was not entertained, and he was told he must take his chance of distinction in the usual way. Both Mr. Buchanan and Mr. Drummond, however, declared, as seems likely, that, although a most powerful and athletic fellow, and perfectly skilled in the use of his weapons, he is an arrant coward, and takes good care of his person. He has lately, to prove his bravery, taken the name of "Raging Bull," or "Bula-ma-kau,"[1] with an epithet expressive of pawing the ground.

The "Raging Bull" and I soon made friends, and I persuaded him to give us a specimen of the club exercise, which consists in twirling it round to ward off spears, and passing it across the body in all directions. As we were

[1] This word is a corruption of *bull and cow*, and is always used to designate any individual head of cattle (bull, ox, or cow), instead of "povi," or "bove," which the missionaries introduced into the translation of the Scriptures, and wished to see adopted. In like manner, though with better taste, the natives term a horse "solo-fanua," or "runner on the earth," instead of "ipo," from ἵππος, the missionary appellation.

stepping into the boat he came up to say, Tofaa; adding, imploringly, "Captain, baccy smoke," which I gave him, and told him to behave himself, and so we parted.

We returned to dinner at Mr. Williams's, at Vailele, and went on board in the evening.

18*th July*.—We heard this morning that Malietoa and all his party had started for Leulumoenga, taking Alepia, to be reinstated in his lands, and carrying with them a house, which is to be put up as a sign of occupation. I arranged, therefore, as I wished to see something of the islands of Manono and Apolima, to take a cutter down the coast on the following day, calling at the missionary stations of Malua, where there is an institution for the education of native teachers, and Leulumoenga, where is the printing-press of the mission, with the chance of meeting and communicating with the chiefs of the war-party at the latter place.

19*th July*.—Accompanied by Mr. Pritchard, Captain Jenner, Lieutenants Pollard and Payne, and Messrs. Hay and Norman, midshipmen, I left the ship at 10 A.M. in the cutter, provisioned for three days, and sailed down the coast about eight miles, partly inside and partly outside of the reef, to Malua, where we met a kind reception from the Rev. Messrs. Hardie and Turner, who, with their families, inhabit two handsome and comfortable cottages situated in enclosed grounds, nearly adjoining each other. The mission possesses here about fifty acres of land, acquired for the purpose of establishing the normal school for native teachers, spoken of before. The present vexatious war has impeded a good deal the completion of the scheme, which would otherwise have probably been in full operation before this time, but much has, nevertheless, been already effected. A plan is in progress, including, besides a chapel and schoolhouse, commodious habitations for sixty students, the buildings to form three sides of a large hollow square; but the chapel, of coral plastered,

is the only one yet perfectly completed. The first expenses, for the purchase of the land from the chiefs, &c., were defrayed by subscription among the natives and white residents, some of the missionaries, we were told, having contributed largely to the fund; and it is intended that the clearing of the ground, and erecting the buildings, shall be either performed by the students, who at present, to the number of between forty and fifty, are living in temporary houses, or the cost of doing so covered by the produce of their labour.

The scheme of education includes two periods of four years each, the first being supposed to supply the rudiments of a general education, principally religious. Those who choose may then retire into ordinary life, but any who remain for the second course are supposed to be candidates for the situation of native teachers, with which view they are instructed fully in geography, sacred and general history, natural philosophy, logic, and the doctrinal points of Christianity. When their education is completed, they are liable to be sent, not merely to the different districts of Samoa, but to any of the islands of Melanesia (except the Feejees, which are under the care of the Wesleyan body); and many have, before the institution had advanced to its present regular form, voluntarily expatriated themselves to become the pioneers of Christianity among the New Hebrides, where we shall see afterwards with what devotion they have served.

After we had inspected the progress of the works, Mr. Hardie assembled twenty or thirty of the scholars, good-looking, well-dressed young men, of all ages between eighteen and thirty, in a room in his house; and at his request we asked them a few questions in geography and scripture history, in which their attainments, although not very high, were respectable. Their handwriting was remarkably good, and they seemed to be constantly employed in writing out essays and sermons, it being made

a point by the missionaries that they are never to teach anything from fancies of their own.

Mr. Turner afterwards called to us two who had been procured during a late cruize of the John Williams (a vessel attached to the mission) at Savage Island, off which it will be remembered we had called, and who are in a short time to return with the hopes of being permitted to instruct their countrymen. One of these spoke a little English, and both were intelligent, gentle-looking men. The eyes of the former sparkled a little, however, when at my request he showed me the exercise of the long staff of his island, which resembles the two-handed cudgel still in use in the south of France.

The substitute for a church bell is here an old "lali" or drum, made of a hollow log, and resembling a horse-trough. We heard it beaten in the afternoon to summon the sick, who receive advice and medicine gratuitously from the missionaries. Its sound was hollow, and not unmusical, and it is said to be audible at a great distance. This one, we were told, has been heard in Savaii, the nearest point of which is not nearer than fifteen miles.

After all our party had been entertained at dinner by Mrs. Hardie, we continued our voyage to Leulamoenga, and arrived at sunset in a sandy bay, crowded with the canoes of the Manono party, who were, to the number of 600 or 700, hutted on the beach. We landed in the midst of a motley-looking group, without any apparent order or organization, and scantily armed—a few coarse muskets and blunderbusses, which, unlike the warlike New Zealanders, they prefer, as more noisy, to good double-barrelled guns, being seen among their original weapons of clubs and spears. One ill-looking fellow was much offended by my offering him (as he thought in derision) a cocoa-nut, as a charge for a huge bell-mouthed brass blunderbuss; but in general they were perfectly polite, nor could I have imagined that an undisciplined

body, just arrived in an enemy's country for a warlike purpose, would have been so well behaved. They had offered no annoyance of any kind to the missionary, Mr. Sunderland, who with his wife received and entertained us, lodging us for the night most comfortably; indeed, I was put up in a four-post bed with good musquito curtains. The virtue of hospitality is certainly exercised by all these gentlemen I have met with to an unlimited extent, our inroad of six persons in this instance appearing to be considered by Mr. and Mrs. Sunderland as no intrusion whatever.

Malietoa, with a new wife he had lately married (the widow of an enemy killed in battle), was hutted on the beach, his canoe, painted green, being anchored in the offing. He had announced his intention of coming to wait on us on our expected arrival, but afterwards sent up a message that he was much fatigued, and begged to be excused that night, as he was certainly coming in the morning. We suspected, however, that he had no intention of keeping his word, as he told Mr. Sunderland that he was afraid of committing himself, and regretted that the Papalangi should suppose he had any power or authority, whereas he had none out of his own family. We have already seen that, in fact, he had little or none even there.

We were told that the night previous, after this gallant war party had retired to their huts, having been engaged in building Alepia's house, two shots, fired in the woods in their rear by some vagrant white men shooting pigs, had been conjured up by their fears to a general attack on the part of the enemy, and had set them all off precipitately to their canoes, some hours elapsing before they could muster courage to take up their quarters again on shore. We had practical proof of the real cause of alarm, Mr. Sunderland having, on going out, found an American, called Black Bill, and his companion, carrying off two or

three of his pigs, which they had just shot. He accordingly claimed them, and they formed part of our entertainment. No apprehensions were felt of any depredations on the part of the native forces; and although my boat's crew for convenience slept in the boat, where they were provided with small arms as a matter of course, not a musket was ever brought into sight, and our making a parade of our arms would have been considered as absurd and unnecessary as in our own country. From what I have already seen and heard, I do not believe there is a country in the world, however strictly the laws may be administered (and here it must be remembered that there are none in existence), where a white man can live with such a sense of safety, and certainty of a supply of food, as in these islands. The few isolated cases which have happened of murder have been the result of quarrels generally caused by the stranger's conduct; and I cannot persuade myself justify the retaliating and revengeful proceedings against whole villages which have more than once been adopted by the ships of civilized nations.

20*th July*.—We were awoke by daylight this morning by the firing of muskets and cries of the natives, and on looking out found the whole fleet of canoes under way on their return home, all seeming in high spirits at the prospect of soon being out of danger and the enemy's country. As we suspected last night, Malietoa decamped without beat of drum, so I determined to give myself no further trouble about him. An hour or two was occupied in marching the whole party down to the beach, and calling in some who had been stationed as piquets in the bush, and in the newly-raised house of Alepia. Even these were poorly armed, and could only be known as a war-party from their marching in Indian file, which is their practice on such occasions. All were soon off, intending to sleep at Malua, where, being on friendly territory, they will be

under no apprehension of an attack, and leaving behind them few tokens of their foray but the huts of cocoa-nut boughs on the beach.

We walked up after their departure to the remains of the chapel burned down by them last year, at the time of the commencement of hostilities, although it seems doubtful if it were destroyed intentionally. One of the gentlemen of the mission told some of our party that he believed the roof was ignited accidentally from that of a dwelling-house which had been set on fire, and that the greatest care was taken to prevent the sparks reaching the adjoining house, containing the missionary press, several people having been, after the destruction of the chapel, stationed on the roof for that purpose. It may be doubted, too, whether under any circumstances the mission could justly claim this chapel as their property, as it had been built entirely at the expense of the natives themselves, and on land which, Mr. Sunderland explained, is called "the Land of the Sons of the Chiefs," being, in fact, a reserve for public purposes. But it seems quite certain that, although this vexatious war has operated very prejudicially to Christian interests, no animosity has been shown against either the missionaries or the white residents, whose wishes are, nevertheless, well known to be generally in favour of the party contending against the Malo.

Mr. Ella, a gentleman lately arrived from England to conduct the printing business of the mission, obligingly showed me over the premises, where they are engaged in printing, as fast as translated, and revised by a committee of the missionaries, the books of the Old Testament, in which they have advanced as far as Leviticus, the New Testament having been in circulation for some time. He also supplied me with several copies of little works in the Samoan language, such as vocabularies and catechisms, printed at the press, and which I had been requested to procure by Sir George Grey, the governor, and Mr.

Martin, the chief justice, of New Zealand, who are both much interested in Polynesian philology.[1]

Mr. Ella's assistants are all natives; but at this time we saw but one, a hunchback, engaged in folding the sheets lately struck off. We afterwards looked into the house put up for Alepia, on a piece of land belonging to himself, not far from the missionary premises. Mr. Sunderland told us that it was proposed by some of the party to erect it on the Land of the Sons of the Chiefs; but as this would have been considered an unpardonable insult to Aana, he had dissuaded them from such a step; and as they had adopted the milder measure, he was very sanguine as to the quiet termination of the war. The house itself was one of the smallest class, and precisely similar to all others we have seen. It was brought down in two canoes, the posts having been cut on the spot; and the whole structure showed evident signs of the fear of interruption which must have pervaded the party when building it, in the hurried and insufficient manner in which it had been completed. The two ends of the roof, for instance, instead of being carefully lashed to the centre with cord or sennit, had only one or two loose fastenings of grass; and the posts were but a few inches deep in the ground, so that, even if suffered to stand by the people of Aana, the first strong breeze will probably blow it down. The symbol of sovereignty, however, has been exhibited, which was more aimed at than any decisive success.

In the forenoon we started in the cutter for Apolima,

[1] The accompanying extract from a report by Mr. Ella, dated 1st January, 1851, will show that the press has not been idle since our visit:—

"January 1st, 1851.—Notwithstanding the hindrances with which we have had to contend, we have been enabled, since the date of the last report (September, 1849), to issue from the press the books of Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy, 7000 copies each; two numbers of the 'Reporter,' 1000 each; two Almanacs, and 2000 of a large double-side school-card, besides a few minor publications. These books have not met with so considerable or rapid a demand as former issues, owing, in a large measure, to the lamentable diversion of the people's minds at this time, and also to the greater attraction of an edition of the New Testament recently received from England."

a small volcanic island, lying between Manono and Savaii, and serving as a fortress to the former, to which it has been from time immemorial an appendage. According to Samoan notions, it is considered impregnable, being steep to all round, and having no landing-place, excepting at one small bay or bight of a few yards across, which might easily be defended. As all the fighting men, however, are absent at the war, there seems no reason why a few canoes should not surprise the place, nor thirty or forty men hold it afterwards.

Should the people of Aana succeed in such a *coup de main* (which, however, it is to be feared is beyond their energy to attempt), it would certainly not only finish the war, but reduce Manono to an insignificant position, as nothing but the possession of this stronghold has given her, with her seven or eight hundred inhabitants, the political importance she has so long enjoyed. I had intended to land, but on our arriving off the little beach we found it was dead low water; and as a heavy swell causing a good deal of surf would have made a wetting a matter of certainty, and an injury to the boat not improbable, we contented ourselves with pulling close in and looking at the spot. One lad, with a spear, was the only male we saw, but several women were on the rocks, for bathing or fishing. "Apolima" signifies "the hollow of the hand;" and approaching it from the eastward, one does, in fact, look into an extinct crater, occupying a great part of the interior, and full of a luxuriant growth of cocoa-nut and other trees and vegetables, which would afford ample provision for a garrison; and we were told that it has also the advantage of a stream of good water, which is wanting on Manono.

We pulled round the islet, which is between two and three miles in circumference, and, according to Captain Wilkes, 472 feet in height. The cliffs, except in the landing-spot above mentioned, off which lies a small detached

rock, are quite perpendicular to the sea; and we had no bottom with twenty fathoms of line fifty yards off shore.

The distance of the island from Savaii is five or six miles, and from Manono about one, both passages being clear for ships. Manono is low and flat, connected by the reef to Upolu. A small islet lies off each end; that on the side towards Apolima, and the larger of the two, being called Nulofa. We entered by a boat-channel through the reef, and landed at a village on the north side of Manono, principally to allow our people to cook their dinners, which they did under the trees on the beach, the officers taking up their quarters in the chapel, where the natives soon came round us. There were but few men, many being absent with the war-party; and those we saw were less polite in their manners than we had been accustomed to. One man, an inferior chief, after a time, however, offered me some fish cooked after their manner, in a plantain-leaf, not very palatable, and in return he shared our mess, which consisted principally of preserved salmon. The remains of this novel food were eagerly devoured, probably more from curiosity than hunger, by several young girls, who afterwards surrounded the men's cooking-stove to taste their potatoes, brought from New Zealand, a vegetable new to them. Towards the end of our repast two little girls, of five or six years old, came into the chapel, evidently dressed for the occasion. They had on beautiful new titis, or petticoats, of yellow grass (dracæna), and were shining from head to foot with cocoa-nut oil. The female children are often very pretty at that age; but the appearances of puberty about the bosom come so early as soon to destroy the interesting looks of childhood, and, when totally uncovered, conveyed to our minds notions of immodesty on their part, with which, I believe, they are by no means generally chargeable. After bartering for some shells and a few baskets of yams, principally for fish-hooks and tobacco, and enjoying a refresh-

ing bathe, we returned to our kind host and hostess at Leulomoenga, remarking on our way several large canoes steering for Savaii. Mr. Sunderland afterwards confirmed our conjecture that these contained a party of Malietoa's allies, who had tired of the war and were returning to their homes, giving some hopes of a speedy termination of hostilities.

21*st July*.—We took leave of our hospitable friends after breakfast on our return to Apia, by Malua, where we were to dine again with Mr. and Mrs. Hardie. The cutter pulled up along the coast, inside of the reef, but one or two of us preferred walking, the distance being but about five miles. As in all these islands, there is here a regular footpath, under a grateful shade, a few yards from the beach; but this being the deserted country of Aana, it was a good deal overgrown. In other places the roads are carefully attended to, and as neatly kept as the interior of the villages.

We passed on our walk many ruins of burned houses, and saw everywhere traces of a hostile army, in felled cocoa-nut and bread-fruit trees, and destroyed plantations. But in this favoured climate vegetation is so rapid that luxuriance, not waste, is the general effect of desertion; so that, within a year or two of the re-occupation of the country by the Aana people, it is probable that very few visible marks of the war will remain. In the mean time, unfortunately, the evils it is doing are not small—stopping all progress in civilization—and, by bad food and irregular habits more than by bloodshed, seriously reducing the population.

At Malua Mr. Turner was so good as to occupy some time in giving me the names of places and chiefs among the New Hebrides, on one of the islands of which, Tana, he resided for some time. He was about to revisit the whole group in the ship belonging to the mission, the John Williams, and we were also bound in the same

direction. He also most kindly insisted on my accepting some curiosities from those places as well as from Savage Island; which I was not likely to procure elsewhere.

Mr. Hardie had had a visit from Malietoa yesterday on his return from Leulomoenga, the chief being very respectful and well-behaved. An accusation had been made against some of his people of plundering the gardens of the Institution, but on examination it resolved itself into one or two hungry fellows having stolen some taro—an offence about as grave as stealing a few turnips would be considered in England. So far from being surprised at such trifling irregularities, I am only the more struck with the general sense of propriety and respect to strangers' property evinced by this people under the most unfavourable circumstances. The art of war seems that in which they are the most deficient, being quite incapable of forming or comprehending strategetical combinations even of the simplest kind.

As the tide was flowing, we were enabled to pull up to Apia the whole way inside of the reef, assisted occasionally by a puff of wind off the land.

We passed the point of Molinuu a little after dark, and saw the war-party had all returned to the fort, and were celebrating the success of their expedition by dancing and singing, numerous lights burning all round the bay.

We reached the ship between 9 and 10 P.M., and found an American ship, both whaler and trader, had arrived during our absence. Her cargo of notions was well adapted to the trade among these islands: besides provisions, including excellent potatoes—which they had touched at the Chatham Islands to procure—she had for sale several small articles for house-fittings, including sash-windows made in the United States, which were sold to the missionaries and white men establishing themselves on the different islands, at the rate of sixpence a pane, glass included. As the masters of these vessels are in general

part owners, this combination of two employments, where no custom-house expenses are to be incurred, is said to add considerably to the general profits.

Sunday, 22*nd July*.—After our usual services on board, I went in the afternoon to the chapel on shore to see the children's singing school, taught principally by Mr. Pritchard, and heard them sing several psalm and other tunes very fairly. There were upwards of a hundred of all ages up to eighteen. Forty girls, composing the boarding-school of Mrs. Mills, sat on benches behind the others, all dressed in something like an imitation of European costume, but one most unbecoming; and such a collection of ugly bonnets, made by themselves after a bad pattern, was probably never seen elsewhere. It was certainly necessary that these girls should be taught to clothe themselves decently, but one cannot but regret that they should not be encouraged to do so in a less unpicturesque fashion. The school, however, is most creditable to Mrs. Mills. The girls live in a large building in the rear of the mission-house, and have a matron to attend to them. No payment is expected from the parents, but they are required to feed their children—a duty which, at times, they are so negligent or indifferent as to neglect. An arrangement has been lately made, however, by which, in turn, they bring sufficient food at one time for a few days' consumption, so that all share alike. The girls themselves are represented to like school better than home, and they seem to consider their lessons as an amusement. We asked them, by request, a few questions in Scripture history, &c., and found them very well instructed.

As soon as their examination was concluded, the general afternoon service began, Mr. Mills preaching on Charity, from the 13th chapter of 1st Corinthians, and giving out his text first in Samoan and then in English, for the benefit of the strangers. How he treated his subject, of course I had no means of knowing, but the spectacle of this worthy

divine—in the same dress, and using the same forms and gestures, as in a Presbyterian pulpit at home—preaching in an unknown tongue (the native Scotch accent still to be detected) to a congregation owing what knowledge of Christianity they possessed to unpretending men like himself, who had come, regardless of selfish considerations, from the other end of the earth to impart it, struck me forcibly, causing me to feel increased respect for the body to which he belongs, and toleration for opinions in which I differ from them.

The congregation was composed of between three and four hundred of both sexes, all seated cross-legged—the attitude of respect—and retaining the same during the service, whether singing, praying, or listening. A few of the men wore shirts, but all had the flowing robe of native cloth. Most of the women, young or old, wore the hideous bonnets, and all the tiputa, covering the bosom.

23*rd July*.—As I had arranged to sail on the following day I was glad to have an opportunity of meeting all the neutral chiefs at council, in the common-house of Apia, whither I repaired by appointment in the forenoon. We met in the usual quiet way, and the business was begun by Mr. Williams (who was always so obliging as to interpret for me) reading a paper I had drawn up, in which, after announcing my approaching departure, I recommended them, as soon as peace was restored, to turn their attention to some general form of government which should suppress private quarrels or disputes between the tribes. As a token of union, I advised the adoption of a general Samoan flag—a measure which jealousy has hitherto prevented, although one often discussed; and illustrated the necessity of doing so by the fact that a small schooner, built and owned in the islands, had expressed a reasonable alarm at falling in with a ship of war when unprovided with national colours, lest she should be treated as a pirate.

Some chiefs arriving late requested that my speech should be repeated, which was done as a point of politeness, and several then addressed the meeting on these subjects very sensibly, which they always can do, although their practice does not often come up to their professions. After many compliments and thanks for the interest taken in their concerns, they were proceeding to discuss the chances of peace or war, when it was announced that two messengers had arrived from the fort of Molinuu, and requested to be allowed to communicate with the meeting. These men had seated themselves on the outside of the circle until orders were given to introduce them, when they advanced to the centre and delivered their message. They were savage-looking fellows, probably affectedly so, scantily clothed, and one of them, who had only one eye, with a very ferocious expression of countenance. Their speeches—for each spoke a few words—were prefaced by the usual compliments to all present, and at first it was supposed that their mission was a pacific one. It unfortunately did not turn out to be so however, for, after admitting that just complaints had been made by the people of Apia of the provision-grounds having been plundered by those of the fort, and recommending either that the former should take the law into their own hands and administer a good beating to the offenders, or that they should be sent to the fort, where severe punishment would await them, they concluded by announcing that Malietoa and the Manono party had, on quitting Aana the other day, left the whole of the bread-fruit and other provisions under "tabu" or "saa," which of course amounts to a prohibition of the neutral party's re-occupation of any of the lands, and is supposed to express a determination still to continue the war.

The disappointment felt by the whole assembly was very great, and gave rise to several different projects. Some were for forcing their way down, which, were they

capable of an united effort, would, of course, be the best policy; but the greater number were for continuing to await peaceably the course of events, which opinion I backed, knowing that the partial adoption of warlike measures would only tend to prolong this wretched war.

A simile used by one of the chiefs to denote his distrust of any peace not brought about by a great success on either side, was expressive. "The storm," he said, "had lulled, but there had been no thunder to clear the air, and the tempest was not at an end." The decision to procrastinate was come to sooner than would otherwise have been the case in rather an amusing way. I had promised old Pea, the chief, that before sailing I would give him a review of our small-arm men and marines on shore, and this being our last day, the disembarkation took place whilst we were in the midst of our debates. At the first tap of the drum the spectators disappeared, and were soon followed by the orators, who dropped off one by one. Mr. Pritchard, Mr. Williams, and I were at last left with only two chiefs, one of whom was speaking, when the sound of the big drum completely upset his dignity, and he abruptly ended, and started off to the review.

The only complaint I had heard of any of the resident white men was brought before me to-day, in the course of the meeting, by a young chief of Apia; his charge against Mr. Bell, a trader here, known by the name of Missa Bello, turned out, however, to be but that of sharp practice in bargains, in which the native considered himself the loser, and I arranged the dispute amicably. I thought it as well to take the opportunity of writing, in conjunction with the consul, a letter to Mr. Bell (knowing that it would be seen by others) explaining the real position of British subjects, and their subjection to the Supreme Court of New South Wales in cases of any offences committed by them among the islands of the Pacific; also informing him, in terms of my instructions, that a well-substantiated

complaint brought against any one of them by the chiefs, accompanied by a desire that the offender should be removed from the islands, would certainly be attended to by the captain of a ship of war.

I believe that such an announcement will be sufficient to maintain order, as the British here are generally very well behaved, and both foreigners and natives seem willing and desirous to refer all disputes on private affairs to the arbitration of their respective consuls and the chiefs.

Our display of arms, which was attended by the whole population of Apia, had, as at Tutuila, the effect of delighting them with the regularity of the movements and firing. Having no notion of combination or military operations, they probably considered these more beautiful than efficacious; but skirmishing in the woods, as before, was looked upon in quite a different light, and evidently raised us in the estimation of some of the warriors from the fort, who were inclined to sneer at the first part of the display on the beach.

I went on board thoroughly fatigued with the day's proceedings, and disappointed with the failure of my efforts to bring about a peace. It was, indeed, hinted to me, that Malietoa, tired of the war himself, would not regret interference on my part, even if it were against himself, to give him a pretext for coming to a composition. I had not, however, the least intention of doing so, but wrote him a parting letter, expressing my surprise at his folly, and warning him that he may yet provoke the neutrals to co-operate with the people of Aana and Atua, which, if done with energy, will probably be his ruin.[1]

[1] In June, 1851, two years after this time, Mr. Williams, who was then residing in Sydney, informed me that he had received from Apia accounts of the termination of the war. The people of Aana and Atua, taking counsel from some of the white men, built, at different points on the north side of the island, five large twenty-oared whale-boats, which would carry from 80 to 100 men each. They then blockaded Molinuu, and shut up Malietoa's party by a fort on the land side. Not wishing to push matters to extremities, they permitted the enemy to escape to Manono and Savaii, whither Malietoa had gone.

24th July.—The wind, which had been light from the eastward for the last few days, was from the north-west this morning, which prevented our getting to sea.

I had visits from several chiefs—Pea of Apia; Moli, the Christian teacher; and Alepia, the hero of the late inroad, who, with a companion from the fort, probably came as a spy to find out if I had any intention of interfering. We had a good deal of conversation in the cabin, Pea sitting in an arm-chair, prosing on the blessings of peace, and talking at the two warriors, both of whom we had seen for a few minutes at Mr. Sunderland's, at Leulomoenga. Pea told us—what I believe is true—that he had been a great warrior in his youth, and from his prowess (being of immense size and strength) was called Puni-Puni-olo, a name by which Mr. John Williams distinguishes him in his 'Account of Missionary Enterprises' in 1830, signifying "Block up the gate of the fort" with the bodies of the slain; he had also been called Pei-pei, a kind of fish; and often Pea, or "bat;" but he wished it to be known that his real *classical* name was Pongei,[1] or "Root," which he begged me to call him in future, and I promised to do so. After giving them all some food, and making Pea and Moli a few presents of shirts and other trifles, I bade them farewell. In the afternoon the wind shifted suddenly to the southward, and on the 25th had settled down apparently to the regular trade, with which we weighed in the morning for the Friendly Islands.

As I did not intend to touch at Savaii, in which island there is no good anchorage for a large ship, our visit to the Samoan group ended here. Our acquaintance with

Peace had been declared, and the Aana people say there is now a "Malo-tele," or general power. Mr. Williams describes their conduct to have been perfectly consistent with their declarations to me, and, as they did not wish the exclusive malo, they did not take all the advantages they might have done from their success. Although their unwarlike character, probably, prompted this policy, the result, for the present at least, is very satisfactory.

[1] M. d'Urville speaks of this chief in 1838 as "Pea-Pongui;" Captain Wilkes, of Moli as the son of old Malietoa, then living—'Narrative,' vol. ii. pp. 103 and 110.

the people had been short, but sufficient to convince us that their character and habits had undergone, and were still undergoing, a great change, although in Upolu, with its larger population and more complicated interests, it had not reached the same extent as in the more domestic island of Tutuila.

The first circumstance which must strike a stranger on his arrival, and one which will come hourly under his notice during his stay, is the influence which all white men, but in particular the missionaries, exercise over the minds of the natives. Among a people who, from former accounts, seem never to have had any definite notions on the subject of religion,[1] a firm belief in a creating and pervading Deity, or even in a future state, the introduction of Christianity, in the absence of evil foreign influence, was not likely to be difficult, and we find accordingly that this has been effected to a great extent, not merely in increasing the number of professed adherents, but in softening the manners and purifying the morals even of the heathen portion of the community. No unprejudiced person will fail to see that, had this people acquired their knowledge of a more powerful and civilized race than their own, either from the abandoned and reckless characters who still continue to infest most of the islands of the Pacific, or even from a higher class engaged in purely mercantile pursuits, they must have sunk into a state of vice and degradation to which their old condition would have been infinitely superior. That they have been rescued from this fate, at least, is entirely owing to the missionaries; and should the few points of asceticism which these worthy men, conscientiously believing them

[1] Mr. Williams, who saw the Samoans in their original state in 1830, says of them—"They have neither maraes, nor temples, nor altars, nor offerings, and, consequently, none of the sanguinary rites observed at the other groups. In consequence of this the Samoans were considered an impious race, and their impiety became proverbial with the people of Rarotonga, for, when upbraiding a person who neglected the worship of the gods, they would call him 'a godless Samoan.'"—Missionary Enterprises, p. 464.

necessary to the eradication of the old superstitions, have introduced among their converts, become softened by time and the absence of opposition, it is not easy to imagine a greater moral improvement than would then have taken place among a savage people.

With respect to those gentlemen of the London Mission, whose acquaintance I had the satisfaction of making in Samoa, I will venture, at the risk of being considered presumptuous, to express my opinion that in acquirements, general ability, and active energy, they would hold no undistinguished place among their brethren, the Scottish Presbyterian clergy, to which denomination the majority of them belong. The impossibility of accumulating private property, both from the regulations of the Society and the circumstances surrounding them, ought to convince the most sceptical, of their worldly disinterestedness, and raise a smile at the absurd accounts in tales invented for the gratification of coarse minds, of appeals from the pulpit, couched in terms which would be inefficacious with the lowest savage intellect, in behalf of their personal interests; nor can the greatest scoffers at their exertions deny to them the possession of a virtue which every class of Englishmen esteems above all others, the highest order of personal courage.

As the old superstitions have become almost obsolete, even among the heathens, and as it is not improbable that in the course of another generation there will be scarcely any trace of them remaining, it is not the business of a work like this to recapitulate what several navigators and others had had better opportunities of doing. That the Samoans have had indistinct notions of powerful and pervading spirits, some of their old traditions testify. That of the destination of the different tribes of Upolu by Pili, one of their demi-gods, is still repeated among themselves, and may have influenced them in the selection and retention of their respective employments. To Atua, it

is said, he allotted the spade, to Aana the spear, to Latuamasanga the orator's fly-flap and staff, and to Manono the fishing-net. Mr. Williams told me that, conversing not long since with a chief of Manono on the folly of attempting to subjugate Aana, he used the argument of her original endowment with the highest warlike qualities with great effect, his antagonist at first attempting to claim the spear for Manono, but confessing afterwards, with surprise, Mr. Williams's superior erudition.

The ceremonious observance of forms of politeness has been often noticed, and is certainly one of their old customs, caused most probably by the nature of their institutions, which, dividing even the different tribes into smaller independent communities, necessitated the constant discussion, in councils composed of many parties, of all matters of general importance. Although, like all savage people, frequently engaged in contests among each other, the want of a general head, or even of very influential chiefs in the tribes, seems to have left them lower in the scale of warriors, and less barbarous, than most of their neighbours. We have seen that at the time of our first acquaintance with them, human sacrifices were unknown; and Mr. Williams says they were "not addicted to cannibalism, which they spoke of with just horror and detestation."[1] On this latter subject, however, besides the evidence of Mr. Hunkin of Manua, we have that of the Rev. Mr. Turner, who has had the best means of information, and says, in his 'Ethnology of Polynesia,' published in the 'Samoan Reporter,'—

"It has been questioned whether this savage custom ever prevailed in Samoa. During some of their wars a body was occasionally cooked; but they affirm that, in such a case, it was always some one of the enemy who had been notorious for provocation or cruelty, and that eating a part of his body was considered the climax of hatred and revenge, and was not occasioned by the mere relish for human flesh, such

[1] Missionary Enterprises, p. 456.

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as obtains throughout the Fiji, New Hebrides, and New Caledonian groupes. In more remote heathen times, however, they may have indulged this savage appetite. To speak of roasting him is the very worst language that can be addressed to a Samoan. If, applied to a chief of importance, he may raise war to avenge the insult. Sometimes a proud chief will get up and go out of the chapel in a rage, should a *native teacher* in his sermon speak of 'hell *fire*.' It is the custom, on the submission of one party to another, to bow down before their conquerors, each with a piece of fire-wood and a bundle of leaves, such as are used in dressing a pig for the oven; as much as to say, 'Kill us and cook us, if you please.' Criminals, too, are sometimes bound hand to hand and foot to foot, slung on a pole put through between the hands and feet, carried and laid down before the parties they have injured, like a pig about to be killed and cooked. So deeply humiliating is this act considered, that the culprit who consents to degrade himself so far is almost sure to be forgiven. It is not improbable, therefore, that in some remote period of their history the Samoans were more familiar with the savage custom to which we refer than in more recent times."

If any dependence can be placed on these accounts, which there is no reason to dispute, the fact of this disgusting propensity having obtained among a people whose unusual self-possession in debate, and moderation in all means of excitement, even in the use of ava, has been often remarked, will, it is apprehended, afford a strong presumption that there were few, if any, of even the Malayo-Polynesian islanders by whom it had not, at some time or another, been practised.

A full account of the cosmogony of the Samoans has been given in the narrative of the United States exploring expedition. It differs from that of all their western neighbours in attributing the origin of their islands to the sky, whence they were thrown down by the Creator, whereas the others refer theirs to the sea, out of which Maui, Tangaloa, or the Great Deity, under different names, drew up the land by a fish-hook.

Without desiring to do more than refer to the question of the origin of the Malayo-Polynesian islanders, it is proper to mention an opinion expressed by Mr. Hale, the Ameri-

can philologist, and adopted by the missionaries, who have carefully examined the subject, that the islands of this group formed the first receptacle or resting-place for the new race, and consequently the point from which they spread themselves over the whole surface of the Pacific.[1]

Strong arguments have been advanced in support of this position, founded principally on the coincidence of traditions among various islanders, either of their descent directly from Samoa, as in the case of the Rarotongans, or of original migrations on the part of the people of New Zealand, the Marquesas, and Aitutaki, one of the Hervey group, from a country termed by them respectively "Hawaiki," "Havaiki," and "Avaiki," the precise forms which the name of "Savaii," the largest of the Samoan islands, would assume in their different dialects.

Other reasons in support of this theory have been advanced by a late writer on ethnology,[2] which are perhaps even stronger than that of the coincidence of names; as no habit seems more common among the Polynesians than that practised by European colonizers, of giving to other lands, whither they have intentionally or involuntarily migrated, the appellations of those they have quitted, although they may offer no points of resemblance.

If, as suggested by Mr. Hale, the term "Savaii" be intended to denote the "leeward" or westerly position of that island, it is certain that none of the conditions apply to Hawaii of the Sandwich Islands, which is the easternmost or furthest to windward of the group to which it belongs.

The population of Upolu, including that of Manono, is estimated by the missionaries at about 20,000 souls; and that of Savaii, a large but much less fertile island, at 12,000. Taking the aggregate amount for Tutuila and

[1] Hale's Ethnography, &c., of the United States' Exploring Expedition, p. 120 and afterwards.

[2] Latham's Natural History of the Varieties of Man, p. 254.

the Manua group at 5000, this will give altogether to this beautiful archipelago but 37,000 in all; a number, too, it is to be feared, still gradually, though slowly, diminishing. For some years past the islands are said to have been visited during the wet season (from October to April) with a severe species of influenza, which has sometimes passed through the group twice during that time. From November to January 1847 this epidemic was unusually severe, 60 deaths having been reported in one district of 2500 people, and even a larger proportion in some marshy and damp situations. During last year the hooping cough, said to have been imported in a vessel from Tahiti, made its appearance for the first time, causing, in conjunction with the war, but in a larger proportion, a calculated reduction of five per cent. of the population in a period of eighteen months. Besides these diseases, believed to be of European origin, and to follow surely, but mysteriously, the first arrival of the strangers, they have, peculiar to their own islands, a species of elephantiasis, with which white residents are equally afflicted with the natives. An Englishman who was suffering from its effects, his limbs being swollen to a great size, asked for, and received, a passage to Sydney, where, many months afterwards, I saw him in the public infirmary, still uncured. This man had been one of the crew of an English ship wrecked among the Tongan islands more than twenty-five years ago, and had since resided at many different places in both these groups. He spoke both the Samoan and Tongan dialects with tolerable fluency, but was so stupid, that I failed in eliciting any information from him of the slightest interest.

Deformed people, from accidents in youth, were frequently met with, and few of the missionaries' houses were without a hunchbacked servant. At Lufi-Lufi I saw one Albino, and was told he was not a singular case.

I pass by the physical characteristics of the Samoans, as

they have been minutely recorded by persons better qualified for the task, and as, I believe, they differ little from those of the Society and Friendly islanders, who are more generally known to Europeans. Both men and women in Upolu seemed to us to be less robust and good-looking than in Tutuila, showing that the outward appearance of the same race may be in some degree varied by very slight difference of position and circumstances. The latter of these two islands has the advantage of some regular government, there being, as mentioned in my account of Tutuila, seven ruling chiefs, forming a kind of executive power, which, with all her legislative assemblies, is wanting in Upolu. Attempts have been made, both by the missionaries and naval officers of foreign nations, to establish some such power in Apia, with a view to encourage a fair system of commerce with the traders and whalers resorting to the island for supplies. In 1838 a code of commercial regulations was agreed upon between several chiefs on one side, and Captain Drinkwater Bethune, of H.M.S. Conway, on the other, by which a payment of five dollars, as harbour dues, was stipulated for by every merchant-vessel requiring supplies; corresponding obligations, such as recovering and giving up deserters, being acknowledged on the part of the chiefs. Captain Wilkes, of the United States Exploring Expedition, in 1839, concluded a similar commercial treaty, as it may be called, the provisions being apparently of equal advantage to either contracting party.

Unfortunately, old Pea, who, as chief of Apia, was the lawful recipient of such dues from British merchant-ships, had, from mistake, presented a copy of the regulations to M. d'Urville, on his arrival in September, 1838, who, in a different spirit from the American and British commanders, referred him indignantly to the battery of his corvette for payment.[1] M. d'Urville mistakingly supposed

[1] Voyage dans l'Océanie, vol. iv. p. 100.

that these dues were demanded for the benefit of the English missionaries; and has expressed himself, with respect to their co-operation and that of Captain Bethune with the chiefs, in a manner scarcely in accordance with the usual politeness of his nation. His editor has also (let it be hoped, from inadvertence) admitted among the published notes of the officers, one reflecting on Captain Bethune and the missionaries in terms little suited to the serious character of the work, or creditable to the good feeling of the writer.[1]

These dues are still, however, partially acknowledged by American and British vessels; and, when paid, do in fact soon find their way into the hands of the resident traders of their own countries, several of whom have settled at Apia.[2]

[1] Voyage dans l'Océanie, vol. iv. notes, pp. 336, 337, 338.

[2] The following list comprises the names of all vessels who have called at Apia during ten months of 1848-49:—

SHIPPING LIST FOR APIA, ISLAND OF UPOLU.

1848. (*Continued from the* REPORTER, *No.* 7.)

MAR. 20. *Minerva*, 408, Seabury, New Bedford; 50 sp., 400 wh.; 8 months out.
21. *John Wells*, 366, French, Sag Harbour; 80 sp., 1420 wh.; 19 months out.
29. *Legrange*, 280, Dexter, Fair Haven; 500 sp., 220 wh.; 32 months out.
30. *Ariel*, 75, Sturges, Sydney, trader.
31. *Harrison*, 371, Sherman, New Bedford; 100 sp., 1500 wh., 34 months out.

APRIL 5. *Vigilant*, 140, Eckert, Hamburg, trader; 10 months out.
19. *Cambria*, 362, Harding, New Bedford; 700 sp.; 15 months out.
20. *Sally Anne*, 312, Brooks, New Bedford; 180 sp., 520 wh.; 10 months out.
22. *Stella del Mer*, 400; R.C. Mission.
27. H.B.M.S. *Calypso*, Capt. Worth.
William Rotch, 290, Kempton, New Bedford; 125 sp.; 7 months out.

MAY 7. *Columbia*, 329, Chase, Nantucket; 900 sp., 100 wh.; 20 months out.
18. *Resolution*, 439, Parke, London; 500 sp.; 31 months out.
28. *John Williams*, 296, Morgan, London; L.M.S. Mission.
29. *Martha*, 273, Folger, Nantucket; 1500 sp.; 32 months out.
Lexington, 201, Saunders, Providence; 800 sp.; 34 months out.

JUNE 3. *Levi Starbuck*, 376, Nye, Nuntucket; 850 sp., 150 wh.; 35 months out.
Coquette, 80, Eliott, Sydney, trader.
4. *Henry Astor*, 375, Coffin, Nantucket; 1900 sp.; 44 months out.
Rebeca Sims, 400, Taber, New Bedford; 1450 sp.; 36 months out.
23. *Coquette*, 80, Eliott, Sydney, trader.
25. *John Williams*, 296, Morgan, London; L.M.S. Mission.

JULY 25. *Scotland*, 384, Smith, Nuntucket; 1800 sp.; 33 months out.

AUG. 4. H.B.M.S. *Calypso*, Capt. Worth.
13. *Courier*, 386, Tahiti, trader.
18. *Ganges*, 315, Nichols, Nantucket, 1550 sp.; 37 months out.

SEPT. 2. *John Williams*, 296, Morgan, London; L.M.S. Mission.
11. *Calypso*, 110, Lown, Sydney, trader.
17. *Arche d'Alliance*, 650, Marceau, Havre.
21. *Vigilant*, 140, Eckert, Hamburg, trader.

OCT.

The Samoan language, as is well known, is a dialect of that usually distinguished as the Polynesian, which is spoken in all the islands distributed over a space in the Pacific Ocean contained in a vast triangle of nearly 5000 miles side, of which the Sandwich Islands to the north, New Zealand to the south, and Easter Island to the east (all inclusive), form the three extremities.

The dialect in question is not only in pronunciation peculiarly soft and harmonious, but it contains also a distinct and permanent vocabulary of words (a few of which are subjoined) which politeness requires to be made use of to superiors, or on occasions of ceremony:—

	Addressed to a chief.	Addressed to a common person.	
1.	aao.	lima,	hands.
2.	langi (literally, heaven or sky) .	ulu,	head.
3.	ngasengase, or pulupulusi . .	ma'i,	sickness.
4.	afio mai, or susu mai, or maliu mai,	sau,	you are come.
5.	afio, or alaala	nofo,	to sit.
6.	fetalai mai	fai mai,	to speak.
7.	tāumafa	'ai,	to eat.
8.	tofā	moe,	to sleep.
9.	silasila	vaai,	to see.
10.	maliu	oti,	to die.

1848.

OCT. 6. *Crescent*, 340, Westfall, Sag Harbour; 2150 wh.; 26 months out.
8. *Vigilant*, 140, Eckert, Hamburg, trader.
Rebeca Sims, 400, Taber, New Bedford; 1600 sp., 200 wh.; 40 months out.
21. *Arche d'Alliance*, 650, Marceau, Havre.
Roman, 350, Blackmer, New Bedford; 100 sp., 900 wh.; 12 months out.
Narragansett, 398, Rogers, Nantucket; 950 sp.; 26 months out.

NOV. 13. *South Pole*, 608, Myers, Amsterdam; 350 sp., 2000 wh.; 39 months out.
Barclay, 301, Baker, Nantucket; 130 sp.; 12 months out.
15. *Charles Drew*, 344, Coffin, New Bedford; 100 sp., 2500 wh.; 26 months out.
23. *Mary Ann*, 58, Wilson, Sydney, trader.

DEC. 14. *Vigilant*, 140, Wolf, Hamburg, trader.
Black Warrior, 231, New London; 100 sp., 1200 wh.; 18 months out.
17. *Coquette*, 80, Eliott, Sydney, trader.

1849.

JAN. 16. *Lucy Ann*, 309, Brown, Greenport, 2000 wh.; 18 months out.
22. *John Williams*, 296, Morgan, London; L.M.S. Mission.
Portsmouth, 520, Munroe, Warren; 50 sp., 4800 wh.; 35 months out.

For the use of ships' crews, as well as of the foreign residents, a small chapel of galvanized iron has been lately sent out from England and erected in a pretty situation near the beach. About 60*l.* were subscribed for this purpose by the missionaries, foreign residents, and crews of vessels, and the remainder of the sum necessary to complete the work has been liberally supplied by the Directors of the London Missionary Society and the Foreign Seamen's Society in London.

Mr. Hale has remarked that, with the exception of the Tongan, which has some words of ceremony, but not so many as the Samoan, nothing of this description exists in the other dialects of Polynesia, the corresponding habit of the Tahitians being to adopt a metaphorical mode of speaking when addressing or alluding to the sovereign, and during his life to cease to employ in the common language those words which form a part or the whole of his name, some other expression being invented temporarily to supply their place.[1]

A writer in the 'Samoan Reporter,' describing the Samoan language, gives the following specimens of its characteristics, and affinities to other Polynesian dialects; on which subject the reader is referred to the elaborate work of Mr. Hale for complete information:—

"The Samoan alphabet has only fourteen letters, and that number is found sufficient in the New Zealand and others; some, we believe, have fifteen; and in proper names and foreign words one or two additional letters are used, although the sounds they express do not properly belong to the language. The Samoan are A, E, I, O, U, F, G, L, M, N, P, S, T, V. The G expresses not the English sound of that letter, but the nasal *ng*. The Rarotongan and New Zealand have the same sound, which they express by the double letter *ng*. The New Zealand has the *w* where the Samoan has *v*. The Samoan is peculiar in having the *s*; in the Tongan and several others its place is supplied by *h*. Samoan differs from New Zealand, Tonga, Sandwich Islands, and others, in not having the *k*. Its place is often supplied by a break or sharpening of the following vowel; thus, *ika*, a fish, in Samoan is *i'a*; while, on the other hand, the Tahitian sometimes has a like break for the Samoan nasal, as *ra'i* for *langi* (written by us *lagi*). The Marquesan has a like break for the Tahitian *r*, and similar instances are numerous. The *l* abounds in Samoan, where others have the *r*; yet before the letter *i* the Samoan has also frequently a soft *r*. We have the *f*, for which others have *h*, and some a break. We have also the *t* where the Sandwich Islands and others have the *k*. These variations occasion considerable differences both to the ear and the eye, even when the words are radically the same. It will be seen that the absence of the *k* and the aspirate in Samoan, the presence of the sibilant,

[1] Hale's Philology of the United States Exploring Expedition, pp. 287, 288.

the *l* instead of the *r*, and other variations, render this dialect peculiarly soft and musical.

"So far as to sounds. A comparison of *vocabularies* shows that not only any two leading dialects, but in somes cases several of them, have a large number of words, and a very large number of roots, in common. And in many cases the meanings are also alike; while in others the sense conveyed is kindred, though not precisely the same. On the other hand, the differences are also many. They are many, for example, between Samoan and Tahitian; while they are much fewer between Samoan and Tongan, and between New Zealand and Rarotongan. These differences are partly accounted for from a practice which was formerly common, especially in some groups, of changing a word which happened to be a part of a chief's name, an application of the widely extended *tabu* system. In Tahiti this custom was called *tepi*. We are indebted to Mr. Davis, a missionary there, for a list of nearly forty words which had been thus changed in Tihiti before the introduction of Christianity, and many of them are of the most common kind, least likely to undergo change from ordinary causes. It is also remarkable that the words rejected are nearly all such as still exist in Samoan and other dialects; e. g., *vai*, water, for which they introduced *pape*."

The Samoans do not seem to have been so far advanced in the useful and ornamental arts as the Society Islanders, or as their immediate neighbours to the westward. Even the manufacture of siapo or native cloth from the paper mulberry, is said to have been introduced at a late period, the usual dress of both sexes having been a petticoat of the fresh leaves of the dracæna. For dresses on occasions of ceremony, however, two descriptions of fine mats were much prized, and are still extravagantly valued. The first, of narrow strips of the leaves of the pandanus, closely woven and ornamented with tufts of scarlet feathers, are considered as a species of currency, and sometimes handed down through several generations; their ragged state, when proving their antiquity, rather enhancing their value. Those of the second kind are also much esteemed, and are wove out of the bark of a species of dwarf hibiscus, the outer side being left shaggy and bleached pure white, so as to resemble a dressed sheep's skin. Both sorts are in

general from two to three yards square, and are still worn by either sex as a graceful garment from the loins to the feet.[1]

Their arms, consisting of clubs and spears, are more tastefully than elaborately carved, and in size and efficiency are very inferior to those we had seen among the much less athletic people of Savage Island. I have already described their canoes, which seem destined at no great distance of time to give place to boats of European construction. In Upolu we frequently saw them ornamented with numbers of the beautiful porcelain-looking shell Cypræa ovula.

It would be unjust not to allude to their remarkable cleanliness and habits of decency, which these islanders carry to a higher point than the most fastidious of civilized nations. Nor, however low the morals of both sexes may have originally been, did any example of an indelicate word or action come under my notice during our stay.

The appearance of all the islands is enchanting; fine fertile plains extending (especially in Upolu) to the foot of the wooded hills, the summits of which exceed 2000 feet in height. Savaii is said to be the least fertile of all, and to have been subjected the latest to volcanic action, although tradition assigns to it the remotest origin of any of the group.[2] It certainly contains the smallest proportionate population. The villages are almost all situated on the coast, the interior of the islands being thinly peopled.

[1] Their pillows, made of a flat piece of bamboo, standing on two legs, about three inches from the ground, are said to have been introduced by the Tongans, who had copied them from the Feejeeans.

[2] An intelligent writer in the 'Samoan Reporter' says of Savaii,—"On the N.W. side, about twelve miles W. of Safune, passing inland, you are astonished at the sudden bursting to view of an extensive field of lava, which you think cannot have been thrown up more than a few years. Much of it is still hard and compact, and shows the waves or ripples on the surface as when it cooled. . . The people now know very little of the facts of the eruption, but their vague tradition seems to fix it three or four generations back, and ascribes it to the anger of one of their Aitus, and says the natives with difficulty escaped in their canoes. The name they give it is significant, 'o le Mu,'—'the burnt.'"—*Samoan Reporter for Sept.* 1846.

We were told of one inland village in Upolu, the inhabitants of which are treated as inferiors by their countrymen near the sea. There can be little doubt that the most valuable tropical plants might be produced in abundance on the almost virgin soil of these islands. A wild orange and nutmeg are both met with, and there are said to be as many as twenty varieties of the bread-fruit. The manufacture of cocoa-nut oil is somewhat on the increase, and a small quantity of arrowroot, from the root of the tacca, occasionally finds its way to the Sydney market.

This group, like all in nearly the same parallel of latitude, is subject to violent hurricanes between the months of November and May, during which period the trade-winds are frequently suspended for several days at a time. These hurricanes, called by the natives "afa fuli fao," or knock-down winds, seem to be rotary storms of small diameter, passing in general from a westerly to an easterly point, although examples of their travelling in a south-west direction are not unknown. In the absence, however, of simultaneous observations at different places it would be premature to lay down any precise account of these storms. The last had occurred on the 26th of December, 1848, and it was remarked, contrary to the general succession, had commenced at east and gone round to north and north-west, which would indicate a direction to the south-west. The sea was said on this occasion to have been heavier than any of the natives remembered to have seen it, and to have raised several islands of dead coral on different parts of the reef, which were pointed out to us as still existing.[1] Earthquakes, as might be expected in a volcanic region, are not uncommon, but they do little or no injury to the elastic buildings of the country.

[1] On the 5th April 1850, sixteen months after the above was written, Apia was nearly destroyed by a hurricane, the iron chapel being the only building uninjured. Three vessels were wrecked in the harbour. This storm seems to have travelled to the S.E., as a vessel to the S. of Tutuila encountered it 24 hours later.

The shores of the islands abound with fish and with several varieties of sea-snakes from two to four feet long, which the natives consider harmless, although I have heard this doubted. It is remarkable that there is a firm belief in the existence of a gigantic eel of the exact length attributed to the sea-serpent (sixty feet), which is said to cruize in the neighbourhood of Apolima.

We found the latitude of the east point of the Bay of Apia to be 13° 48′ S., and the longitude 171° 46′ W., which differs little from former observations. The variation of the compass 8° 30′ E.

The average height of the barometer during our stay was 29·95 inches, and of the thermometer 78°. The trade-wind generally blew from the E.S.E., but even at this season, the most regular of the year, we had occasional calms and even light westerly airs.

There is a stream of good fresh water in the eastern corner of the bay, and the British and American consuls can supply shipping with fresh beef at a moderate price, with plenty of vegetables.

Firewood of different kinds, and very good quality; cost two and a half dollars a boat-load, being at the rate of about three dollars a chord.

Captain Bethune's plan of Apia bay is perfectly correct and sufficient for any ship's guidance, as far as that port is concerned, but we found the charts of the United States Exploring Expedition, some of which I fortunately was enabled to buy at Sydney, of great service for the coast, and I should recommend all ships coming among these islands to be provided with them.

Interior of Tongan Church.

Chap. IV.—FRIENDLY, OR TONGAN ISLANDS.

Sail from Samoa — Vavau — Tapa manufacture — Neiafu — Port Refuge — Volcanoes — Lifuka — King George's position and descent — The Tui-Tonga — Political history of Tonga — Titles — George's prospects and character — His apprehensions — The Opposition — Cloth-dyeing — Tonga-tabu — Nukualofa — Sandalwood trade — Shipwrecked Englishmen — Fort of Bea — Complaints of a French missionary — A vagrant Englishman — Defence of Wesleyans — Difference between chiefs and people of Tonga — Acquirement of Feejeean habits — Position of women — Tongan superstitions, population, language, productions, &c.

25*th July*.—Having unmoored at daylight, we weighed at 11h. 30m., with the wind from the S.E., and ran out of Apia harbour, intending to take the passage to the westward, between Apolima and Savaii. As the breeze began to vary and fall light, I was apprehensive that we might be becalmed in the narrow channel, and determined ac-

cordingly to pass to the northward of Savaii, the extremes of which at midnight we had brought to bear S.E. and E.

We hauled to the S.S.E. a few hours later, the wind drawing to the E.N.E., and continuing very variable and light until the 29th, when the S.E. trade set in fresh with heavy rain.

In the afternoon we made the island of Vavau, but, the weather being very thick, we failed in distinguishing the entrance to Port Refuge, and continued to stand off and on during the night.

30*th July*.—The weather clearing for a few minutes at 10 A.M. enabled us to make out the entrance to the harbour, known by two small islands on the eastern side, and the larger one of Hunga-Hunga to the westward. No pilot made his appearance, although there is an Englishman who professes to come out to ships when made aware of their approach; but as the shores are everywhere steep, we were enabled to work in without any difficulty, even during a heavy fall of rain. The wind falling light, we were obliged to anchor rather sooner than I had intended in thirty fathoms mud, under the hill called Talau, its centre bearing N., and a conspicuous sandy point E. ½ N., nearer to which we should have found from fifteen to eighteen fathoms.

The appearance of Vavau is very different from that of the Samoan Islands, being nearly of an uniform height of a few hundred feet, and, until we had entered the harbour, with fewer signs of fertility or cultivation. The cliffs are abrupt to the sea, and quite steep, with no fringing reef, but off some of the points detached coral rocks stand out, worn by the action of the sea into the shape of huge mushrooms on their stalks. When once inside of the port, however, signs of the most industrious cultivation show themselves, the country, where not green, looking like one large garden, whilst from every village comes the sound, not altogether unmusical, of the mallet used in beating out the native cloth, in which occupation the

women seem to be unceasingly employed from early dawn to sunset. The mode of manufacturing this substance is so minutely described by Mariner,[1] and resembles so nearly the same process at Tahiti as seen by Captain Cook[2] in 1769, that any particular account of it would be superfluous here. It is sufficient to remind the reader that it is not woven, but made of the inner bark of the Chinese paper mulberry (Broutonetia papyrifera), which, after having been stripped and soaked in water for a certain time, is beaten to the required thickness by a mallet, described by Captain Cook as resembling a square razor-strop. A mucilaginous dye is then used both to colour the cloth and to cement it together, until large bales are formed in a single piece, from which portions are cut off as required for use. Mariner says they enlarge the piece to about six feet in breadth and forty or fifty yards in length, and I myself measured one spread out to dry at Vavau of forty yards long and four yards wide. When this cloth is not printed or stained, it is called "tapa" or "taba," by which name it is generally known among all the islands of the Pacific; and when completely finished and coloured, which is done partly by a beautifully constructed stamp, and partly by painting it by hand, it is termed here "gnatu." A coarse kind is made from the bark of the bread-fruit tree, but, as neither will resist water, a great consumption takes place, which must be supplied by constant industry.

One or two large double canoes, of far greater dimensions than those of Samoa, were lying at a kind of wharf near the landing-place, and apparently taking in cargo for another port. In spite of the badness of the weather, which prevented me from going on shore, the little we saw gave us a favourable notion of the activity of the people. Some of the officers landed and walked up to the missionaries' houses, but the rain did not allow them to see anything of the country.

[1] Mariner's Tonga, vol. ii. p. 288. [2] Cook's First Voyage, chap. xviii.

A good number of canoes came off with articles of barter, viz., turkeys, fowls, eggs, fruit, consisting of pine-apples and bananas, and quantities of vegetables, such as yams, sweet potatoes, cabbages, and onions. They had also a few indifferent clubs and spears, shells, and baskets of their own manufacture, which they exchanged readily for empty bottles and cotton articles. Tobacco they did not care for, having, as they said, plenty on shore; and they knew perfectly the value of dollars, which they had acquired from the numerous whale-ships frequenting the port. In personal appearance they differed very little from the Samoans, excepting that beards and short mustaches were more generally worn, giving a more manly expression to their countenance; but though very good-humoured, they were more noisy and pertinacious. Several spoke a little English; and all were said to be professing Christians. Some of our officers remarked that one or two wore round the neck a bunch of some herb, the smell of which was very offensive.

31*st July*.—Being engaged to-day in trying to procure a pilot for the Hapai group, of which we had no chart or plan, I had little opportunity of seeing much of the island. I landed at the wharf, where two double canoes were loading for the Hapai islands, and walked up to the village Neiafu, which differs from those of Samoa in the number and beauty of the reed fences, four or five feet in height, surrounding the provision-grounds of each dwelling. Paths are seen branching in all directions, bounded by these fences, of varied patterns, the missionaries' houses standing in gardens similarly enclosed. These gentlemen, as mentioned before, belong to the Wesleyan body, who now exclusively occupy these islands and the Feejees; and we found among them one of the oldest of their number, the Rev. Mr. Thomas, who has resided in Tonga since June, 1826, and may be considered the first permanent missionary of the group. He was so obliging as

to seek out and present to me a chief of some standing, who wished for a passage to Lifuka, in Hapai, and agreed to act as our pilot to that intricate and little-known group. This chief, whose name was Vuke, to which as a Christian name Alaisi (Alexander) has been prefixed, was an elderly, good-looking man, of large proportions and gentlemanlike manners. His legs were a good deal swollen from elephantiasis; but we could easily believe what we were told, that in his younger days he had been considered the handsomest man in Tonga. Mariner, indeed, speaks of him as such in 1806, under the name of Voogi; and he made many inquiries as to what had become of his old friend, which I regretted I was unable to answer. I may remark that he made us a good and self-confident pilot, although he could have had but little experience in conducting larger vessels than the double canoes of his own country, in one of which he had intended to make the voyage, had not this opportunity offered.

We passed, on returning to the boat, an open space of ground, on which stood the chapel of Neiafu, the principal missionary-station of the island. This building is of large dimensions, being 100 feet long by 45 wide, and 28 or 29 high. In general design it resembles those of Samoa, having curved ends and a high-pitched roof. It differs from them in having two rows or orders of columns, every three of the lower supporting a short beam, from which springs the second order, bearing the ridge-pole. This, as well as all the horizontal beams, is most beautifully ornamented with cocoa-nut plait, so arranged as to give the appearance of Grecian or Italian mouldings, of infinite variety and delicate gradations of colour, black, with the different shades of red and yellow, being those employed. Different combinations of interlacing diamonds or rectangular figures formed the groundwork of these designs; but the same one was seldom twice repeated, and, the size of the pattern being nicely proportioned to the

distance from the spectator's eye, the effect was very artistic and pleasing. On the green, outside of the church, several women and young girls were spreading out large rolls of native cloth, just finished, to dry; and this fabric seemed to be universally used for clothes, of which both sexes wore a quantity more than sufficient for the purposes of decency. The practice of cropping the hair close, however, which prevails among the women, detracts so much from their personal appearance that few of us were struck with their boasted beauty, which many navigators have compared favourably with that of the Tahitians.

Some of the missionaries and their families paid me a visit on board in the afternoon, where, on my return, I found several Americans and Englishmen, chiefly deserters from whale-ships, which frequent this port for supplies. One man, a native of New South Wales, applied to me for a passage to Sydney, which I had accorded, when he was claimed by the native magistrate or jailor of the island, acting under the King's authority, as a prisoner who had been sentenced to a fine, or, in default of payment, to work for a given time on the public roads. This was not denied on his part; and as the jailor would, in the event of the prisoner's quitting the island before the expiration of his sentence, become liable for the amount of his fine, I declined to interfere with the course of the law. No one seemed dissatisfied with this decision; and I was not sorry to have an opportunity of proving to the white men that attempts on the part of the natives to establish and enforce just laws would meet with no opposition, but rather with encouragement, from British officers. The hardships, besides, of living here are so few, and opportunities of returning to their own countries so frequent, that I felt no compunction in leaving the individual (who on my return to Sydney I found had been of indifferent character) to the consequences of his ill conduct.

At 7.30 P.M., having landed our visitors, we weighed

and sailed out of the harbour by moonlight. Although, having worked in without a pilot, the services of one were scarcely necessary, I engaged the foreigner who acts as such for Port Refuge, as an encouragement to induce regular attendance, on his part, to other ships, landing him as soon as we had cleared the harbour, when our native friend Vuke's duties began.

The population of Vavau, which is about thirty-five miles in circumference, is said (adding that of the adjacent small islands, of which twelve are inhabited) to amount to between five and six thousand souls, all of whom have for several years adopted the Christian religion. The missionaries state that they have a corps of two hundred and four local preachers, and sixty district schools. The group has from time immemorial formed part of the Tongan dominions, although successful attempts have been occasionally made by tributary chiefs to render themselves independent. At present all acknowledge the sovereign authority of George Tobou, who generally resides among the Hapai group, and governs the other islands by deputy. This subject will, however, be alluded to afterwards.

The harbour, named by Maurelle (who discovered it in February, 1781) Puerto del Refugio, was surveyed by Captain Drinkwater Bethune in 1838, and is land-locked and apparently secure; but the holding-ground is said to be indifferent. The general depth of water, upwards of thirty fathoms, is too great for convenience; and although the shores are quite steep and safe to approach, the necessity of having generally to work in is disadvantageous.

The country affords plenty of vegetables and fruit; but water is both scarce and indifferent. The island, if we may believe the accounts of the white residents, is more subject than others in the seas adjacent, to hurricanes, which recur at intervals of a year or two, sometimes destroying great quantities of provisions, and occasioning much temporary distress. Unfortunately no record has

been kept of any of these storms; but it is to be hoped that ere long a plan of simultaneous observations of their phenomena in the different islands may be arranged, as some acquaintance with them will be of the greatest service to navigators. Earthquakes are very common; and there are several active volcanoes in the neighbouring islands. Amargura, or Funua-lai, in about 18° S. latitude, is said to have been so shaken by an eruption in June, 1846, that canoes can now sail in and out of the crater; and the Rev. Mr. Lawry describes the islet, which until that year was covered with verdure and abounded with fruit, as reduced in August, 1847, to a huge mass of lava and burnt sand, without one leaf or blade of grass of any kind. All things that had life had been utterly destroyed, the inhabitants having, however, warned by violent earthquakes which preceded the eruption, happily escaped previously to Vavau.

Mr. Lawry[1] adds that the noise of the "fiery disgorge" was distinctly heard at Niua Foou, distant one hundred and thirty miles; and that its withering effects on the trees and crops, which it damaged considerably, were experienced at Vavau, thirty-five miles off.[2] An American ship, the Charles W. Morgan, had sailed through a shower of ashes for forty miles, getting out of it in lat. 11° 2′ S., and long. 171° 45′ W.; and another (the Massachusetts), at the same time, although sixty miles further to the eastward, had the deck covered with ashes, which the crew were obliged to clear from time to time.

Banks were also said to have been raised above the level of the sea, to the eastward of Tonga-tabu.

1*st August.*—We had run out of Port Refuge last night by a bright moonlight, leaving the islet of Hunga-Hunga to the west, and Nua-papa to the eastward. Six or seven miles of a south-by-west course took us clear of the small group off the south end of Vavau, passing between the two

[1] Lawry's 'Friendly and Feejee Islands,' p. 41.
[2] The distance between Funua-lai and Vavau is about 60 miles.

westernmost islets, and we then steered by Vuke's directions (who shaped his course by the stars and the appearance of the land) S.byW.½W. At daylight we had run 35 miles on this course, when the high peak of Latté, which we had left on our starboard quarter, bore N.W.byN. 20 miles; and the low sandy island of Ofalanga, which may be considered the most northerly of the Hapais, E.S E. 10 or 11.

We were now in a broad channel (with no bottom at 100 fathoms), between two ranges of low coral islands; and hauling up to the S.E., which the wind at E.N.E. and N.E. permitted us to do, we passed, or saw, in succession on our right, Ofalanga, Mungone, Meani, Nukabulo, and Lofanga; and on the left, Hano, Nukonamu, Foa, and Lifuka. At 9 A.M. we hauled up for the latter, and, standing in between two low reefs, by a passage about two hundred yards wide, dropped our anchor in 4½ fathoms; the water, from its clearness, looking much shoaler to the eye. The berth seemed a secure one, and is a few miles to the S.W. of that in which Capt. Cook anchored in 1777. Our bearings were, N.W. point of Lifuka, N. 11° E.; island of Luanoka, N. 27° W.; and a large canoe-house on the beach, at the village called Pongei, S. 12° E.

The first appearance of Lifuka, the scene of the magnificent entertainment given by Finau, or Feenou, to Capt. Cook, is disappointing, the island being low and flat, without any remarkable features. One or two very large canoe-sheds on the dazzling white beach betoken the sites of villages, the vegetation being in general so dense as to conceal the houses, which are situated at some little distance from the sea. But on landing near the village off which we had anchored (Holobeka), and walking to the king's residence, called Mua, a distance of a mile or two, we were astonished with the richness of the country, cultivated like a large garden. The broad pathway, ad-

mirably kept, is bordered by the "ti" plant and other evergreens, regularly planted, whilst behind them are seen the provision-grounds of bread-fruit and bananas. On nearing the village we found these enclosed with the reed-fences described at Vavau, the "malai," or large space surrounding the chapel and common-house, being alone left open. None of the natives had been encouraged to come off to the ship until communication had taken place with the king, but we were surrounded here by crowds of men, women, and children, loudly greeting us. We were conducted to the chapel, resembling that at Vavau, but even more beautifully ornamented with cocoa-nut plait, and the common-house, lately given to the public by the king, to replace one accidentally burnt. Two of the missionaries, and an Englishman residing here, who seems to act as a kind of secretary to King George, then accompanied us to pay our respects to him. Entering a large enclosure, we found George and his wife seated in a house of moderate dimensions, which, it is understood, he only occupies during the construction of a larger one, on an European model. This house differs from those of his subjects in being closed nearly all round with reed-work resembling the fences of the country, and in being divided into two separate rooms. Although both George and the queen were seated on the ground in the usual manner, there were a table and one or two chairs in the room; and on shelves around were ranged some dishes and plates of English crockery, with a few decanters and bottles of clear glass, containing scented cocoa-nut oil. The king himself is a very fine-looking man, about forty-five years old, above the ordinary size, even of his own people, and apparently of great personal strength. He was lightly clothed in native cloth, as was his wife, a stout, handsome woman, with her only son, an intelligent boy of seven or eight years old, seated by her. The complexions of both were a clear brown, differing very little, if at all, from

the hue of the Samoans; the boy, as is usually the case with children, being a good deal lighter in colour. On presenting his hand to shake, I remarked that George had one joint of the little finger amputated, an operation which, under the name of "tutuu-nima," it is well known, is still common, and was formerly almost universal as a sign of mourning, or of deprecation of sickness or misfortune. Our reception was very kind and pleasing, but I made my visit short, as its principal object was to invite George to see the ship and dine with me on the following day, which I knew he was inclined to do. I added also an invitation to the queen and his son, which was accepted with some hesitation on the part of the lady.

George also promised to send to the people of the neighbourhood, and inform them of our desire to buy some pigs, our people having been without fresh meat for some days; and it was arranged that our purser, Mr. O'Brien, should come to the village in the morning for that purpose.

Whilst sitting at dinner, after our return on board in the evening, a clever intelligent boy of thirteen or fourteen, whom we had noticed at the king's house, and who had been described as the son of an inferior chief, but adopted by George as a kind of page, or companion to his son, came on board with some message concerning the morning's market, and was shown into the cabin. He was the perfect picture of a clever, impudent English schoolboy, affecting to give himself airs, and returning joke for joke with the coolest composure. In spite of his impudence we took a great fancy to him, and dressed him in a shirt and red handkerchief, with other ornaments, which delighted him exceedingly. He seemed not to have expected so good a reception, for he said to the secretary, who was one of the party, "Why do they give me all these things? I am no chief, but they must take me for one." He went the rounds afterwards of the gun-room

and midshipmen's berth, and returned to the shore loaded with presents, but rather apprehensive that he would not be allowed to keep them.

2nd August.—Our friend Vuke, who had been remunerated for his services as pilot by a present of a few dollars and some articles of clothing, much to his apparent satisfaction, was so pertinacious in hanging about me to-day, that I fancied he must be discontented, as having been insufficiently rewarded. I found out, however, in the course of the morning, that his great ambition was to be invited to dine with the king, and no European courtier could have courted an honour of the kind more, or shown greater finesse in his manner of expressing his wishes. Although some doubts were started as to his rank qualifying him for such an honour, I yielded at last, believing him to be a worthy man, and knowing that the distinction would give him great consideration among his countrymen. I stipulated, however, that George's consent was to be obtained on his arrival on board, which was granted with the greatest politeness, the king expressing his willingness to meet any guests whom I might think proper to invite.

The pig-market this morning turned out an utter failure. The excuse made by the authorities was the shortness of the warning, but Mr. O'Brien thought they showed very little knowledge of barter or inclination to part with their stock. One old woman, for instance, having set her heart upon an iron pot or boiler, such as are sometimes obtained from whale-ships, refused to receive any other article for her *one* pig; and similar demands, as absurd, were made by others. As we had no stock of iron pots or such commodities, we were obliged to content ourselves with a supply of vegetables, principally yams, a large present of which was also sent off to me by the king.

In the afternoon the king came on board in one of our boats, attended by several chiefs, and bringing his son.

He apologised for the queen's absence, on the plea of indisposition, but I was told he had some doubts as to the propriety of bringing her on board, and, at all events, felt more at ease in her absence. He was received with a guard of honour, and on his leaving the ship a salute of 13 guns was fired, an attention which has been shown to him by several British ships-of-war, and which he is said to prize, as an acknowledgment of his sovereign authority. No stipulation had been made with me, however, on the subject of honours to be paid to him, nor could the simple dignity of his manner have been excelled by the most powerful monarch, accustomed daily to such marks of respect. George sat on a chair during dinner, and followed all our English customs, but he asked if his little boy might have a mat at his feet, and he instructed him to use his knife and fork, which the boy did with great cleverness. After dinner I made the king a present of shirts, cotton cloth, axes, and other useful articles, adding a gay silk shawl with a reticule and some ribands for the queen, and a variety of trinkets, &c., for his son. A Samoan chief would, either by himself or through his orator, have made a long speech on such an occasion, but George, although very much pleased, said only a few words, ending, very earnestly, with "faka fetai, faka fetai" (thank you, thank you). He inspected every part of the ship, the largest he had ever seen, or, as his attendants said, "the only ship that had ever been at Tonga," with great interest, and was much pleased when Mr. Mills, the gunner, exhibited the use of a diving dress and helmet, remaining under water for what must have appeared even to them, who are expert divers, an extraordinary time. He was easily made to understand the principle of the apparatus, and remarked, turning to his courtiers, "How useless is strength, unaccompanied by wisdom!" He departed after dark, amidst a salute of rockets, expressing himself much gratified with his entertainment.

As this chief's office is not one of idle dignity, but of considerable power, it may not be out of place to give a short account of the nature of his claim to the position he occupies, and of the authority he exercises, as far as it can be collected from the only available sources. It must be remarked that the old practice of polygamy among the chiefs, renders it difficult, if not impossible, to trace, in the absence of written records, direct family descents; and as many unrecorded changes in government and manners must take place in the course of a few generations, some discrepancies will inevitably ensue in the oral accounts, as they are given to suit the interests of the relators. The following, however, appears to be generally acknowledged as constituting at least an approximation to the truth.

At the earliest period of Tongan history the three groups of Vavau, Hapai, and Tonga-tabu, together with the islands of Uea, or Wallis's Island, and Niua, or Keppel's Island, to the northward, were ruled by one chief, to whom, of course, a divine origin was ascribed, and who was called the Tui-Tonga, or chief of Tonga. About fifteen or sixteen generations ago, the reigning Tui-Tonga, finding from some cause his temporal authority on the wane, surrendered it in favour of his younger brother, who, under his own title of Tui-Hata-kalava (a district of Tonga-tabu), assumed the actual rule as "Hau," a word now translated as "conqueror," or "reigning prince." This chief was succeeded by Gata, his grandson, who, continuing or assuming the appellation of Tui-Kanukubolu (another district of Tonga), transmitted his title and authority to several generations of his descendants.

The murder of the reigning Hau about the end of last century by an inferior chief, led to a breaking up of the kingdom into separate states; so that, at the time of Mariner's arrival among the islands in 1805, Tonga-tabu was in a state of anarchy, and Hapai and Vavau were governed by Finau (of the younger branch of the

royal family), his brother, Tobou Niua, being placed in the latter island as his deputy. The political history of the islands after this, appears to be one of struggles for power on the part of different chiefs until about 1826, when the influence which the missionaries were beginning to exercise over the minds of the people produced in an unexpected way the re-establishment of the dignity of Tui-Kanukubolu, and, a few years later, the re-union of the sovereign authority in the hands of a single individual. At the time spoken of Alea-motu was chief of Nukualofa, one of the principal villages of Tonga-tabu, whilst a Christian chief, Zephaniah (the Finau Fiji of Mariner), ruled in Vavau, and George, whose real name was Taufaahau, governed Hapai. Alea-motu, who seems to have been a man of undecided character, having professed Christianity, and been baptized by the name of Josiah, the heathen party, dreading the progress of the new religion, offered to inaugurate him as Tui-Kanukubolu, on condition of his renouncing his lately adopted creed, and discouraging its spread among the people. The proposal was accepted, and Alea-motu, having been inaugurated, took the family name of Tobou, to which it is said his descent entitled him.

George, however, who eagerly looked forward to the succession, soon persuaded him to return to the Christian party, and, joining his forces with Tobou's, carried on a desultory warfare with the heathens in Tonga-tabu for some years. These two chiefs would probably have succeeded in winning over that party to their views, had not an unfortunate interference in favour of the Christians taken place in 1840 on the part of Commander Croker, of H.M.S. Favourite, who, urged by Tobou and George, and encouraged by the missionaries, attacked the heathen fort of Bea, and received a disastrous defeat, Captain Croker himself falling in the attack. Although discouraged for the time, the Christian party soon resumed

their ascendancy, and, Zephaniah and Josiah Tobou dying a few years afterwards, George, who claims to be the representative of the Tui-Kanukubolu who is mentioned as having been massacred at the end of last century, was inaugurated as king of all the islands in December, 1845, under the name of George Tobou. One competitor only appeared, whose relationship to Josiah was said to be equally near, a young Christian chief of the royal name of Mumui, but he seems to have been of a mild and unambitious disposition, and did not press his claim; and I met with him afterwards as George's governor or deputy at Tonga-tabu, where the heathen party is said to be gradually falling off in power and numbers.

The Tui-Tonga (whose family name was Fatafei) being a chief of divine origin, his right to precedence over the reigning king could not be abandoned, although the temporal authority had been ceded, and it has consequently been always maintained, the rule of descent in noble families being as follows:—The father, the mother, the eldest son, the eldest daughter, the second son, the second daughter, &c.; or if there be no children, the next brother to the man, the next sister, the second brother, the second sister, &c. The elder sisters or aunts of the Tui-Tonga seem to have held under the titles of Tamaha and Tui-Tonga-Fafine even a higher rank than his own.[1] Mariner mentions another dignity, "Ve-achi," which in his day followed immediately that of Tui-Tonga; but this, as well as others, such as the Tui-Hata-kalava, &c., appears to have fallen into disuse. At the time of Captain Cook's visit Poulaho was undoubtedly Tui-Tonga, taking precedence of Feenou, who appears to have been the Tui-Kanukubolu; but his father's elder sister and her two daughters ranked above him as Tamahas,[2] and the stupid

[1] Mariner's Tongan Islands, vol. ii. p. 90.

[2] One of these daughters was still alive at the period of our visit, but I did not see her.

Latoo-li-booloo, the son, held also some office which gave him precedence of his cousin, but no power.

As the ruling chief may be supposed to feel some jealousy of the superior station of the Tui-Tonga, especially when he has happened to be, like Cook's friend Poulaho, a man of some energy and ambition, attempts have been made at different times to abolish the office. Mariner relates that the usurping chief Finou, who only ruled Hapai and Vavau, but who had ulterior views upon Tonga, did annihilate that "divine chiefdom"—a proceeding likely enough to be popular with the people, as it included the abolition of the "inachi," or presentation of first-fruits (which ceremony Captain Cook so admirably describes), a troublesome and oppressive impost.

The inhabitants of Tonga-tabu, however, particularly the heathen party, have found it their interest not to acquiesce in this abrogation of the office, which is still held by a descendant of the family, although his inauguration is said never to have been fully completed. Some attempts have even been made without success by that party to set him up in opposition to George as a temporal sovereign. It is certain, at all events, that George is anxious the useless office should exist no longer; and as it is now asserted that the Tui-Tonga must necessarily be the son of a daughter of the Tui-Kanukubolu, whose family consists of but one boy, the dignity must be extinct at the death of the present holder.

The heathen party, who oppose George's pretensions to the sovereignty, being but a minority of the people of Tonga-tabu (4000 to 6000), there seems little reason to doubt that with common prudence he will, should he live a few years longer, establish himself firmly in power, and transmit the full succession to his son. The missionaries give this chief a very high character. He is, no doubt, sincere in his adoption of Christianity, and occupies himself both as a teacher and a preacher. That he was an

ambitious man, and not a very scrupulous one, must be admitted; nor is he at present disposed to part with any of his authority, nor to alter in any great degree the almost despotic form of government, which, modified by the milder spirit of the Christian religion, is perhaps more likely to conduce to their prosperity, as that best suited to their habits, than any that could be introduced among them.

I did not discover if the king has established any written code of laws, but several against moral offences, such as living in open adultery, &c., probably prompted originally by the missionaries, are well known and submitted to; the established punishments being either fines, or labour on the roads or in the house of correction.

3rd August.—The wind being at N. and N.W., we remained at anchor.

Captain Jenner and I went on shore in the forenoon, and strolled about the island. Near the landing-place at the village of Holobeka, off which we were lying, we saw overshadowed with trees, one of the "faitokas," or old burial-places of the country, which, although no longer "tabu," are still in some cases used as places of sepulture, and very carefully kept. This one was an oblong square platform a few feet high, surrounded by a stone wall, the interior being beautifully paved with coloured corals and gravel; the house or temple, which Captain Cook and others describe as occupying the centre, having been, I suppose, removed. I saw but one other of these monuments during our stay among the islands, the largest of which stand on several rows of steps, as described by all former visitors. These remains of what may be now called another age, are not often brought under a stranger's notice, but must be sought out by a good deal of exertion, which my time did not admit of, a great portion being taken up in paying and receiving visits. On our arrival at the king's village, whither several stray people accompanied us, we were surrounded by crowds of children and

young girls, who were lounging about the common-house. The latter were very anxious to display their knowledge of English, and, forming a line, sang in excellent time some of the Sunday-school exercises, accompanying the song with the gentle movement of the old dances and clapping of hands. It was interesting to see the last remains of those exhibitions which astonished Cook and his companions with their beauty and regularity; nor can one but feel regret that the virtual prohibition of what might certainly have been converted with little change into an innocent amusement, should have been considered necessary to the success of the Christian religion among a people whose want of regular occupation must, for a long time at least, be the principal incentive to vice and bar to improvement.

I am, indeed, bound in justice to remark, that, in respect to their treatment of the people here and at Vavau, the gentlemen of this mission do not compare favourably with those of the London Society in the Samoan Islands. A more dictatorial spirit towards the chiefs and people seemed to show itself, and one of the missionaries in my presence sharply reproved Vuke, a man of high rank in his own country, for presuming to speak to him in a standing posture, a breach of discipline for which, if reprehensible, I was probably answerable, having encouraged the chief on all occasions to put himself on an equal footing with myself and the other officers. The missionaries seemed also to live much more apart from the natives than in Samoa, where free access is allowed to them at all times. Here, on the contrary, the gates of the inclosures were not merely kept closed, but sometimes locked, a precaution against intrusion, which, although perhaps warranted in some degree by the custom of fencing their grounds, and by the greater propensity on the part of these people to theft, I never saw adopted elsewhere, and which must operate unfavourably to that

freedom of intercourse so necessary to the establishment of perfect confidence between the pastors and their flocks.

In one of the lofty canoe-sheds on the beach we inspected the king's great double canoe, as those of the largest class are called by Europeans, although the second, or attached body is merely an outrigger, composed of a tree, hollowed out, for the sake of buoyancy, like the canoe itself. Even the hull of the main canoe is seldom occupied by passengers or crew, excepting one, who is constantly (when at sea) employed in baling, the seams of the planks, which are still lashed together with cocoa-nut plait, not being impervious to the water. Beams are laid between the two bodies, on which is erected a house, with a shelving roof, the receptacle for provisions. Over this, again, rises a platform, surrounded by a railing, forming the deck, or place of general resort. The canoe in question was upwards of a hundred feet in length, and, like all of those dimensions, had been built in the Feejees, these islands affording no timber fit for the purpose. It is a proof of no little courage and dexterity that these apparently fragile and unwieldy vessels must be navigated in the face of the usual trade-wind between two and three hundred miles, and therefore the fact that George had two years since visited the Samoan islands in this one may be considered as nothing remarkable. A number of Tongans are constantly employed among the windward islands of the Feejee group in building these canoes, a process which, it is said, occupies six or seven years; and a brother of the late king Josiah, named Maafu, is absent at this time on such an occupation. This habit of navigation has gained them the character of the best sailors in this ocean; and we are told that the Feejeean chiefs are exceedingly anxious to obtain Tongan crews, who are, besides, not subjected to some vexatious tabus to which their own people are liable. The shape of the mat sail is triangular, and the mode of attaching it to the mast and

handling it in working the vessel, which, from the stem and stern being alike, is never tacked, will be best understood by reference to the plate in Captain Cook's Voyages. The smaller canoes, only used along the coast, are similar to those of Samoa.

Captain Jenner, Doctor Turnbull, and myself, accompanied by one of the missionaries, paid a parting visit to the king, who was still much occupied with all he had seen the day before on board of the ship, and had excited the queen's curiosity, particularly by his account of the diver's performances. Before taking leave he expressed his great attachment to Great Britain, and his desire to be protected by her from foreign aggression. He explained his apprehensions by a long story, which it is not necessary to repeat, of demands made on him by a French merchant, who had settled a few years since at Tonga-tabu. Although under the protection of the English missionaries, who had assisted him by every means in their power, this man had received such discouragement from the natives generally, whom he accused of twice setting fire to his house, that he had abandoned his speculation, and returned to Tahiti. Previous to his sailing in a small vessel of his own, he had extorted, by threats of punishment by a ship of war, about six hundred dollars from George, who, by his own account (and he had no object in acting otherwise), had done his utmost to protect him during his stay, and to discover and punish the parties offending. The circumstances would probably have been forgotten but for the arrival a few months afterwards of a French corvette, whose captain, requiring George, although ill at the time, to come on board, read him a severe lecture on the behaviour of his people towards the merchant (M. Maruc), and cautioned him as to the treatment of French citizens for the future. George expressed great fear of similar interference and of future aggression on the part of France, which I did all in my power to allay, explaining to him that the acts of an

individual must not be considered those of a nation, and that any complaint of injustice committed towards him by a French citizen or officer would certainly meet with due attention from the government, if properly laid before them.

This apprehension of foreign occupation has been very general among the Polynesian islands since the establishment of the French protectorate at Tahiti, and the obligation then imposed upon that people to receive Roman Catholic missionaries in opposition to the general will. No chiefs with whom I have conversed have ever expressed any objection to the enforcement, on the part of their people, of justice towards the subjects or citizens of another power; but in those islands where Christianity, as taught by Protestant missionaries, has taken root, the forced obligation to admit priests of a different persuasion is always complained of as a heavy grievance, a feeling which, it must be allowed, need not proceed from fanatical or narrow-minded motives.

The change of religion, and consequent abandonment of old savage customs, being the great question among a people emerging from barbarism, an opportunity given to malcontents to unite themselves against the regular authorities, under the auspices of men who they know will be supported from without, is a cause of continued discord, and a great political evil. In George's case it is at this moment ostensibly so, the heathen or opposition party in Tonga having apparently adopted the French Roman Catholic priests, with the sole object of holding out against his authority, which he would otherwise have long since succeeded in quietly establishing. To those who believe that the substitution of any form of Christianity, with improved morals and civilization, for the former heathen superstitions and barbarities, is a desirable consummation, it would seem almost superfluous to urge that the rivalries and enmities of two sects, which the

natives necessarily take for two distinct religions, cannot but weaken their confidence in both, and retard materially the wished-for change. If this cause was found sufficient in the case of two societies whose tenets differ so little as the Wesleyan body and that of the London Mission, to induce them to form, and scrupulously regard, an arrangement with respect to non-interference with each other's fields of labour, it ought to operate much more strongly in the case of Roman Catholic and Protestant sects, whose zeal in behalf of their respective creeds must almost inevitably lead to unseemly collisions, directly opposed to those principles of charity and goodwill towards all men, by the inculcation of which alone, can they hope to make any lasting impression on the mind of the natives. Nor, considering the immense field for missionary exertions afforded to the enthusiastic by the islands of the Pacific, particularly those inhabited by the black races, can any simpler general rule be devised than that of abstaining from intrusion upon ground already occupied by any Christian mission, which intrusion, however good the intentions, must always be liable to the imputation of making an ungenerous use of the first comer's exertions.

In our walk through the village, after taking leave of George, we came to a house, in the front of which, inside of the enclosure, a number of women were busied with the operation of "kokanga," viz. the cementing of native cloth, and colouring it with the juice of the "koka" bark, —an occupation which, from the good humour of those assembled, seemed to be a kind of industrious merry-making, resembling an American "bee."

The noise of the mallet, which was going on all round, had here ceased, and some of the women were employed in stripping off and scraping the bark, of slender wands of the koka, which forms a dye of a bright-brown colour; whilst others were pasting together and staining, over a raised stamp, the pieces of white cloth out of which the

whole roll was to be completed. They were much pleased to be noticed, and willingly showed us the different processes, and offered us specimens of the various articles employed. The roll of cloth is afterwards spread out on an open space, and the finishing operation performed of painting by hand the last lines of the pattern with a more brilliant red varnish made from the juice of the "hea," which gives the appearance of finish to the work, by covering the joints and concealing all the imperfections of the manufacture.

We had seen this operation going on on the public green (or malai), and was surprised by the steadiness of hand of the woman performing it, who makes use of a longish stick, resembling a large camel's-hair pencil, and completes the pattern with great dexterity and quickness.

Not far from this merry party a higher fence than usual betokened the House of Correction, in which women were employed in beating tapa and other labour, the men being principally employed on the public roads. There were but a few prisoners in all, and the principal authority being absent, I did not enter the enclosure.

After a farewell visit to the missionaries, who occupy two good cottages, with enclosed gardens, near the landing-place, we returned on board, taking with us a native pilot for Tonga-tabu, whom George had ordered to attend us, and who turned out to be very well acquainted with his business.

The anchorage where we lay is perfectly secure from ordinary winds (the passage by which we had entered being sheltered by an outer reef), and is doubtless that mentioned by Captain Cook as lying between the two he occupied at Lifuka, and the best on the coast.

Mr. Hilliard found the N.W. point of the island, which bore N. 11° E. from us, to be in lat. 19° 45′ S., long. 174° 14′ 30″ W.; the variation of the compass 12° easterly. No water, at least none drinkable, is to be procured

here, their supply being limited to one or two brackish wells; one of these I remarked carefully surrounded by a close reed-fence, showing the value put upon it. It is surprising that the land is made to produce such good vegetables and fruit, for some of the latter of which (melons and pumpkins) they are probably indebted to our great navigator. Attempts to introduce the larger animals have failed, and, from the damage they do to the fences and young provision-grounds, are not likely to be successful. Even pigs seem to have fallen off in number; and I noticed them occasionally shut up in hollow trees as sties, to prevent straying. As I stated before, the people parted with them with great reluctance.

I saw no white men on the island except the missionaries and the man who acted as a kind of secretary to George, and was, I believe, agent to some mercantile house in Sydney. There is but little trade going on, the productions, viz. cocoa-nut oil and arrowroot, being the same as in the Samoan islands, but in smaller quantities.

4th August.—The wind had drawn round to the W.S.W. by daylight, and, the weather looking fine, with a rising barometer, we weighed and ran out of the passage we had entered by on the 1st. Captain Cook, in proceeding hence to Namuka and Tonga-tabu, had found a deep-water passage to the westward, between the islands of Fotua and Kotu, but, the wind being scant from the southward, he was obliged, after nearly getting on shore on a low island, which he calls Pootoo-Pootooa, to anchor under Kotu, in very deep water, until the setting in of the trade-wind. The wind being now directly in our teeth for this passage, and the pilot being uncertain about it, I thought it best to stand to the northward by the same channel we had approached Lifuka, and haul round Ofalanga into a clear sea. At 10 A.M. we saw the volcanic islands of Kao and Tofoa—the former a lofty peak bearing W. by S., the latter a high, flat table-land, and an active volcano—and,

hauling to the wind, continued to work to the S.W., keeping them both in sight. There is no known danger to the westward of these islands, and by keeping the peak of Koa just open to the eastward of Tofoa a ship will sail down a clear channel, passing about midway between Namuka (which we made on the 5th, bearing E. ½ N.) and the bank named by Maurelle, the Culebras.[1]

In the morning of the 6th of August, having been making short boards during the night, with the wind still at S.W., we saw to the eastward the islands of Anakāgĕ, Fonumēă, and Kalafajēă; and Hunga-tonga and Hunga-hapai W. by N. 10 miles. By ten, Eua, bold and high, was seen over the reef, bearing S. 10° E., 12 miles distant; Eua-aiki, several miles nearer, not being distinguished until half an hour afterwards. We continued all night, baffled by southerly winds, making short tacks to the northward of the great reef of Tonga-tabu, which we had approached near enough, before dark, to enable us to distinguish the small islet of Tao on its north-western extremity, near to which a French ship, l'Aigle, was lost some few years since.

7th August.—One entrance of the eastern passage to the anchorage at Tonga-tabu lies between some small islands (of which the most conspicuous is Ata) and Eua-aiki; but as the wind was this morning at S. by E., I preferred entering to windward of the latter island, and between it and Eua, where a pilot is said to be procurable if required. We kept close to the edge of the reef, bringing Tonga-tabu on the N.E., until close up to the small island of Makahaa, where the channel trends suddenly to the northward between it and Monuafe, and a dangerous sunken rock, which must be kept on the port hand, lies nearly in the centre of the passage.

[1] M. d'Urville supposes the Culebras of Maurelle to be the small islands of Hunga-tonga, and Hunga-hapai.—*Voyage autour du Monde*, vol. iv. p. 181. I believe, however, that a low coral bank certainly exists in the position occupied by the Culebras, in the plan in Krusenstern's Atlas.

Captain Wilkes supposed that one of his ships in 1840 had knocked off the top of this rock by accidentally striking it, as he states all his endeavours to find it afterwards failed; but I saw it distinctly from the bowsprit, and our native pilot had no doubt of its existence. At this time he was piloting the ship from the flying-jibboom end, and became very anxious as she approached the turning-point, where a sharp movement of the helm and quick attention to the sails is necessary to prevent the ship overshooting the mark. As she shot clear of the danger, and left it on the quarter, he broke into a shout, which we at first took for one of alarm, but soon found it to be a song of triumph at having got over his difficulties successfully. From this spot to the anchorage off Nukualofa, the principal village of Tonga-tabu (at least the seat of the king's government and the head-quarters of the Wesleyan mission), all dangers are easily discernible, and we dropped our anchor at a quarter before ten in fourteen fathoms, the missionary-house or chapel on the hill bearing S. 35° W., and a coral reef, called Watangalolo, N. 35° W., about a mile from the shore.

A large double canoe, containing sixty or seventy persons of both sexes, was sailing out as we made our appearance round Makahaa. As soon as she had passed under our lee she put about to return, anxious no doubt to see something of the stranger—the largest ship which up to this time had ever arrived at Tonga. The operation was effected by throwing the canoe up into the wind, when the rake of the mast, which is stepped on a kind of hinge and always inclines forward, was reversed, and at the same time a number of men, clapping on the tack of the sail, or the point where the yard and boom meet, hauled it aft; the yard, being nicely poised in the slings and hoisted over a fork at the mast-head, then swung round, and the "unwilling tack" was dragged to the loop or becket, into which it was inserted at the other end of the vessel. The

business was conducted apparently with very little order, and with a noise which we heard at a great distance, having started ahead during the process, which occupied a much longer time than that of tacking ship would have done with us. We were sailing at the rate of about seven knots, and apparently about the same as the canoe, which hauled in behind the island of Pangai-motu, on her way, we were told, to the village of Mūă, the residence of the Tui-Tonga.

Before we had been many minutes at anchor, a canoe from the same place came alongside, bringing as a visitor M. Chevron, a French Roman Catholic priest. He had seen the ship early in the morning, and, having taken our colours for French, had hurried off to greet his countrymen. He told me he resided in the old fort of Mua, the defences of which were, however, not kept in repair, and that he had a small and increasing congregation among the inhabitants, who also admit a Wesleyan missionary, although the majority are heathens; the Tui-Tonga, whom he represented as a quiet inoffensive personage, being one of his converts. M. Chevron had a colleague, M. Caliñon, at the heathen fort of Bea, four or five miles from Nukualofa, where he was said to be making considerable progress, both being under the jurisdiction of a bishop, whose head-quarters are at Wallis's Island (Uea, or Uvea), and who has besides an establishment at Horn Island, or Fotuna.

He was in great want of medicines, particularly for a bad case of syphilis, which, singular to say, is the first time I have heard mention made of the disease among the islands. I was happy to be able to supply him with a few trifling articles, although not so plentifully as a little more foresight on my part in laying in a larger stock before leaving Sydney, would have enabled me to do.

Some English papers in my possession gave him the latest news from Europe, particularly of the Pope having

been obliged to leave Rome, which affected him much, particularly as he was well aware that the event would be the subject of great exultation to his Protestant rivals. M. Chevron took his leave on the arrival of these gentlemen, Messrs. West and Amos, promising to communicate with me the following day, and engaging that, if possible, the Tui-Tonga, whom I was desirous of seeing, should be the bearer of his letter.

Having received the usual hospitable invitations to the missionaries' houses, I landed in company with them in the course of the forenoon, and walked up the hill of Nukualofa, the highest point on the island, although only sixty feet above the level of the sea, on which the residences and the chapel, &c., of the mission are situated. This had formerly been a fortified village, or kolo, but of late years George, who occasionally lives here for a few months at a time, has felt himself strong enough, even in the neighbourhood of his former enemies' stronghold at Bea, to dispense with the defences, and they have accordingly all been razed to the ground, an example which will probably be followed in the course of a few years by all the others. The mission premises and chapel are similar but somewhat inferior in finish to those in Lifuka and Vavau; and a new building for an institution for native teachers, and a school for children on the Glasgow system, to conduct which Mr. Amos arrived two years before, had been erected a short time since. Twenty young men were already attached to the institution as pupils of the higher class, and upwards of a hundred children attended the school, which we were informed was gaining much in popularity from its combining amusement with instruction.

We were presented to the two principal chiefs of the island—Mumui, baptized Shadrach, who governs in George's absence, and who is said to have nearly equal claims to the sovereignty, a tall and handsome, but delicate-looking young man; and Abraham Vācă teŭ ōlă, an old chief of

very gentlemanlike appearance and manner. They accompanied us on a stroll about the village, which, with its reed fences, well-kept paths, luxuriant provision-grounds, and houses resounding with the noise of the industrious tapa-mallet, differs from others of the group only in being less carefully kept up and cultivated. This inferiority is certainly attributable to the more recent wars and still existing dissensions in this island, which distract the people's attention from their domestic affairs, and which the unfortunate existence of two violently opposed Christian sects among so small a population contributes to keep alive. I had a good deal of conversation, through Mr. Amos, with Mumui, who seems a well-educated man, and a strong and conscientious supporter of the Protestant missionaries. It is remarkable that, in talking over their former history, almost all the Tongans I have spoken to voluntarily allude with shame to their attacks upon foreign ships as an old practice which was considered allowable whenever a chance of success offered; and consider their conviction of the wickedness of such proceedings as one of the strongest proofs of the good effects of the Christian religion on their minds. Mumui indeed is probably too young to have taken an active part in any of these affairs; but, although I did not know it at the time, the name of his companion, now an exemplary old Christian, suggests that of the young chief Vaca-ta-bola, who is mentioned by Mariner as having been mainly instrumental in cutting out the Port-au-Prince in November 1806. Should this conjecture of the identity of my friend be correct, it would but add another proof, if such were needed, to the advantages of missionary teaching.

An incident which occurred during the day brought out a curious narration, which, if true, shows pretty plainly that notions of morality, or even of common honesty, were not likely to be inculcated on this people by white men who came here in the capacity of traders. Among a group of

Tongans I observed a young man of a totally different appearance, he being of a decided negro colour, with crisp hair, although in stature and roundness of limb he resembled his companions. The difference was plainly marked from his standing with his arm round the neck of one of the islanders, who appeared to be more particularly his friend. On inquiry I was told that he was one of two who, six or seven years ago, had been brought from Eromango, one of the New Hebrides, by some foreign vessels, who had carried thither a large party of Tongans to collect sandalwood, and had returned partially successful, after having had many affrays with the natives of the other islands. I was struck with the very remarkable coincidence that the officers of the United States Exploring Expedition had, in 1840, seen here, under precisely similar circumstances, a native of Eromango, who had been brought in a trading vessel *ten* years previously, the result of the voyage having been also exactly the same. As the age of the young man in question, apparently little more than twenty, precluded the possibility of his being the individual whom the American officers had seen, I was induced to make further inquiries, and discovered that the facts connected with this last sandalwood expedition, which was supposed to have taken place about the end of 1842, were perfectly well known to many persons now in Tonga, who had formed part of it, and that a young chief in particular, Methuselah Taë, could give every information respecting it.

At my request the young chief was sent for to the mission premises, where, have been warned by Mumui that he was to speak the whole truth, he told his tale in the presence of the chiefs, the missionaries, and an assemblage of his countrymen, several of whom had been his companions on the occasion referred to.

As nearly as the date could be determined, about December 1842, two vessels under British colours, the

Sophia and Sultana, and a third which was said to have carried the flag of Tahiti, arrived here to raise a party of Tongans for the purpose of forcibly cutting sandalwood at the New Hebrides. A brother of the late king Josiah, named Maafu, who is now in the Feejees, building a large canoe, engaged with the leader of the expedition, whose name is said to have been Henry, to furnish sixty men, who were accordingly procured and embarked (twenty in each) in the three vessels. They touched at Lakemba, one of the windward islands of the Feejee group, to reinforce their numbers, but could not procure volunteers, and continued their course to Eromango. Here the party, armed with muskets, were landed, and a quantity of sandalwood cut and embarked. The natives continued friendly for the first three days, but at the end of that time, some of them having stolen three axes, a disturbance took place, when one of the supposed thieves was shot by the Tongans. The fire was returned by arrows, which wounded a Tongan who afterwards died. In consequence of this affray they left Eromango and proceeded to Vate or Sandwich Island, where, at a spot called by Tae "Lave-lave," he and his countrymen were again landed, armed, and directed to cut wood, the white men remaining on board of their vessels. Before long they had a battle with the natives, who, having no muskets, were defeated, with a loss of twenty-six killed, none of the intruders being injured. A fort was afterwards stormed and taken, when several more were killed, the remainder retreating to an island, where they hid themselves in a cave, whither they were pursued by Maafu and his party. After firing into the cave, which seemed to have no effect, the besiegers, pulling down some neighbouring houses, piled the materials in a heap at its mouth, and, setting fire to it, suffocated them all. In spite of this occurrence, and the remonstrances of Maafu, who was tired of this warfare, Tae declared that Henry, the commander of the expedition, kept them cutting wood for

three days longer before he would accede to their wish to return to Tonga, which they ultimately did, bringing with them four Eromangans who happened to be on board when they left that island.

How far the details of this statement may be correct it is impossible to say, but that the main incidents are true no person here seems to entertain a doubt. Any exaggeration in Tae's account would, from the boasting habits of the people, probably be in the number of the enemy said to have been killed. The numbers suffocated in the cave he spoke of as "very great," but it is not likely that any of them took the pains to count the bodies of the slain. His account was given with fluency, as if all the circumstances were present to his recollection, and he was contradicted in no one point by any person present.[1]

The history of the sandalwood trade among the western islands of this ocean has afforded, it is to be feared, for a long series of years, many instances of gross contempt of justice on the part of the white men engaged in it; and it is at present carried on at a great expense of life on both sides.

I shall have occasion to refer to this subject again, after having had more experience among the New Hebrides, which will make it evident, that for the credit of the

[1] Since the above was written, Lieut. Pollard, of H.M. schooner Bramble, has met Maafu himself among the Feejee islands. He says, "At Bau I met the Tonga chief Maafu, who accompanied Messrs. Henry and Scott on their sandalwooding expedition to Eromango and Sandwich Island. He says that sixty-seven men were taken from Tonga in the vessels, and that they arrived at Eromango, and were landed to cut sandalwood; that they had several rows with the natives, and that one of the Tonga men was wounded and afterwards died. Their reason for leaving Eromango was, that they were getting short of provisions, and were afraid to take any from the natives; they therefore left for Sandwich Island. With regard to the disturbance there, Maafu says that the masters of the vessels had nothing whatever to say to it, and that they were much displeased when they heard of it. He says that, as the Tonga men were returning home from cutting wood one evening, some of the natives annoyed them, and they then turned upon them, drove them into a cave, and suffocated all but two, who escaped. He does not know the number murdered. They then returned to Tonga, where Mr. Henry paid about 100*l.* worth of trade for their services. Sixty-six men were landed at Tonga."

British name, and for the sake of her colonies, who are seriously interested in the great question of the civilization of the Pacific, this trade must be placed under the same regulations as ordinarily govern commercial intercourse with foreign countries.

The Eromangan professed at first a desire to return to his own country; but upon my proposing to take him thither, he either distrusted my intentions, or could not make up his mind to part with his Tongan friends, with whom he seemed perfectly happy, for he declined the offer.

A very pleasant-looking Englishman, named James Read, about forty-five years of age, nicely dressed in a clean cotton shirt, but with the native cloth garment from his loins downwards (which he afterwards explained he wore on account of some bodily infirmity, in preference to European costume), was introduced to us as having resided on the islands for twenty-eight years. We recognised in him the man spoken of by D'Urville as having done him good service as interpreter in 1827, and had (as well as the man whom we had brought from Samoa) been wrecked in the Ceres, an English whaler, about thirty years ago. These two had not seen each other for eighteen years; but I remarked that, after the first cordial greeting when they met, they seemed to have no incidents of interest to relate or recal, and might have been supposed to have lived together ever since. The want of curiosity about passing events, and indifference to the past and future, seem to be the necessary conditions of the adoption of a half-civilised style of life by Europeans, of whom Read was, for the class to which he belonged, a very good specimen. Our man, generally called Joiner, having been the carpenter of the ship, was, however, much less intelligent than the other, and had no notion of employing his time in any way. So irksome did even the little restraint he was under on board prove to him, that he seemed inclined, at all risks, to take up his abode at every

place where we touched; and it was not without difficulty that he was persuaded, for the sake of his health, to remain in the ship until our arrival at Sydney.

Read, who supports himself by doing a little business as a trader, by which, he told us, he had laid by some money, has quite abandoned the notion of leaving these islands, alleging as a reason his having been brought up to no trade which would enable him to gain a livelihood in England, even if the state of his health were not an objection. I regretted that my time did not admit of more communication with this man, whose account of his life, although he considered it sufficiently monotonous, must have been interesting to us. He made but one request—a very reasonable one—that I would supply him with a truss, he being badly ruptured; and I was glad to have it in my power to do so.

We dined at Mr. Webb's, where the ladies had prepared an excellent dinner, in company with all the missionaries, and old Vaca-teu-ola, who was invited to be one of the party. As he sat down, I remarked he reproved some Tongan servants who were busy in the neighbouring room, separated by a thin partition, for talking so loudly in his hearing, a great breach of propriety on their part, which unfortunately we could not induce them to consider as such towards us when on board or alongside. The number of attendants and lookers-on, who seemed to be here much more freely admitted than at Lifuka, was soon diminished by a call to divine service, which one of the missionaries proceeded to the chapel to perform. Some of our officers attended, and were struck with the goodness of the singing.

Mr. Webb presented us before returning on board with several planks of the tamanu, here called "fetau," and of another wood, which I think he called "felĭĕ," or almond, very fit for ornamental purposes, but here in ordinary use.

8th August.—At eight o'clock I set off with Captain Jenner and a party of the officers, accompanied by the two gentlemen of the mission, who were so good as to act as our guides, for the heathen fortress of Bea, which is distant about four miles from Nukualofa. The walk was through a country which, as at Lifuka, would have been monotonous but for the richness of the vegetation, crops of maize, with bananas and cocoa-nut trees, mingling with the hibiscus and jasmin, as well as the wild pea and other creepers, and limiting our view to a few yards on either side of the level path. An hour's walk took us to the village, which is surrounded by a ditch, nearly dry, of about twelve feet wide, and protected by a mud wall of the same thickness, and fifteen feet in height. This wall is pierced by loopholes for musketry made of hollow wooden pipes, and is strengthened internally by trunks of cocoa-nut trees, driven firmly into the ground, the whole being surmounted by a high reed-fence. The gate by which we entered is in about the centre of the eastern face, and is defended by a kind of portcullis, and flank defences of rough logs, pierced with loopholes. This gate is commanded by a small eminence on the right of the path, about two hundred yards distant; and the whole works offer no defence against a regular attack, especially if made with any description of artillery. A branch of a lagoon communicates between the village and the sea, affording the besieged the means of evacuation if hard pressed from the land side; and we saw hauled up under sheds in the village several large canoes, similar and nearly equal in size to that we had seen at Lifuka, belonging to the king. We were received very civilly at the gate by some of the natives, who conducted us immediately to the residence of M. Caliñon, the French Roman Catholic missionary, a small but neat and commodious dwelling, with a garden attached. He was evidently surprised to see us; and from our being accompanied by our

Wesleyan friends, seemed scarcely to expect that our meeting was to be more than one of cold politeness. We soon, however, became more at ease, and he invited us strangers and the missionaries with equal cordiality to enter his house, where he entertained us with Bordeaux wine and bananas. The chief, under whose protection he was living, and who was one of his converts, came, on his sending for him, and, forming a kava-ring with his followers, went through the ceremony of offering a bowl, and presenting me with a small hand-club, inlaid by himself with whale's ivory. He and his followers expressed great delight when, according to native custom, I raised the gift to my head in token of acceptance; and after giving him some trifles in return, we all parted on the most friendly terms, M. Caliñon pressing upon us the produce of his garden, and supplying the Protestant missionaries with some plants of the Chinese banana, which he had lately received from Samoa.

We visited another chief of the village, of equal authority with the first, but still remaining a heathen, as our omitting to do so would have been considered a great slight. He was a sulky-looking elderly man, but thought it necessary to offer us kava, although, on my accepting it, as I was anxious to see the difference of forms between these people and the Samoans, he made so many excuses as to the time it would take in preparing, from the absence of his people, &c., that I was at last obliged to admit them and take my leave.

The practice of kava-drinking seems to be falling very much into disuse, particularly among the Christians, who are not encouraged to continue it by the missionaries. The appearance of the people in this fortress was certainly not such as to impress one favourably, compared with the others of their countrymen we had seen. They were more scantily clothed, and apparently less cleanly in their persons and houses, a natural consequence of living in a more

confined space; and the absence of that cordiality which we everywhere met with from persons connected with the Protestant missions was very apparent. I heard also, among the younger officers of our party, complaints of pockets picked and handkerchiefs stolen, showing a more lawless state of life, and a retention of their old habits, which were so obnoxious to their early European visitors.

It must be confessed, however, that a feeling of distrust towards us, on the part of the people of Bea, admits of some excuse, since a period of nine years is scarcely sufficient to wipe out the recollection of a deliberate attack made on them, for reasons it is impossible to approve, by the commander of a British ship of war, who, animated by a mistaken religious zeal, engaged in an enterprise, of which it is now unnecessary to say more than that the leader paid for his error by the forfeit of his life, and that it has tended more than any other event to retard the very consummation he was so desirous of effecting.

I had no conservation with M. Caliñon except upon ordinary subjects, but to some of our officers who followed us to Bea in the course of the day he spoke very fully, in the absence of his Protestant rivals, as to his position with respect to them, and his prospects generally in the island. To Mr. Knapp, our naval instructor, he spoke bitterly of the fanatical conduct of two Wesleyan missionaries, now absent, who had denounced, he said, the Catholics as men who had been obliged to fly their own country, and were habitually addicted to every description of vice and immorality. He declared that, in spite of opposition, he and his colleague were meeting with great success in the work of conversion, and he estimated his congregation at 700, who were voluntarily building a large chapel. He retorted on the Wesleyans the charge often made by them against the priests, of admitting nominal converts into their ranks, without any examination into the state of their morals or belief, whereas, he asserted, the Catholics required a long

period of probation, in the case of adults, before administering the Sacrament of Baptism. It was lamentable to hear of two Christian sects thus engaged, in a remote corner of the earth, in vilifying each other; but it is perhaps sufficient to remark that, even if the Wesleyans were guilty (which I do not believe) of all the improper conduct attributed to them by M. Caliñon, it has been occasioned entirely by the obtrusion of the Society to which he belongs into ground previously occupied by others, who would undoubtedly, had their efforts remained unopposed or unassisted, soon have numbered the whole of the population among their votaries, without the scandal now occasioned to Christianity by these unseemly dissensions.

M. Caliñon, who was evidently a man of warm temperament, had expressed to me a very low opinion of the native character, and I could not but feel for a man thus placed in a false position, without the consolation of companionship or sympathy from any one surrounding him, nor suppress a wish that a wiser policy might soon remove him to a sphere of greater usefulness.

One of the vagrant Englishmen who frequent the various groups of islands in this sea, for the sake of enjoying a life of rude freedom without any care but for the present, was found residing in the village. He was a blacksmith, and had practised his trade here and at the Feejees for more than twenty years, having once owned, by his own account, a small vessel, in which he moved about from place to place. His house here, which was small but comfortable, he described as having cost him in goods, such as muskets, powder, shot, axes, &c., as much as 70*l*. When absent he leaves it unprotected, claiming it on his return, and turning out any persons who may then be occupying it, whom he also requires to make good any damage his property may have sustained. The restraint of living among a Christian community was evidently too great for him, and he lauded the society and disposition of

the heathen part of the population over those of the converts. Some pique or jealousy of the missionaries and their influence evidently contributed to this feeling, as he complained of their interference in his trade as affecting his interests, which could hardly be the case, as the residence of a tradesman of good character would be always a great advantage to families who retain European habits, and must have many wants which he could supply.

We had an agreeable walk back to Nukualofa, where, previous to returning on board, we visited the grave of poor Captain Croker. His remains lie close to the mission chapel, and a headboard with a plate of copper, which we renewed, records the date of his melancholy death.

The gentlemen of the mission accompanied me on board to dinner, to which I also invited Mūmūi and old Vaca-teu-ola. Although dressed in native costume (a flowing robe of native cloth), leaving shoulders and chest exposed, their behaviour at table was that of finished gentlemen. We had a good deal of conversation, carried on, of course, through the missionaries, on the subject of old dignities and family names in Tonga, the chief relating the origin of many of the latter, and Vaca-teu-ola explaining that his name, literally translated, meant "the canoe that is successful in catching the sharks." They seemed pleased at being interrogated on these points, and to have an opportunity of talking of their family connections and dignities, which are evidently still highly valued, and were so much flattered by our attention to these minutiæ, that they declared, before going away, that they had never been treated so like chiefs before by any strangers.

Our drums and fifes attracted, as usual, a great share of attention, the soft sound of the former, according to them, excelling all other music. Although the evening was cool, and Mumui was suffering from a pulmonary complaint and seemed to feel the exposure to the dew, they would not leave the deck, but, unrolling the train of their robes,

and wrapping it gracefully round the upper part of the body close up to the chin, somewhat after the manner of a Spanish cloak, stood listening to the music, looking like beautifully draped statues, until it was time to depart. A few rockets completed the entertainment and added to their gratification; and, as we were to sail in the morning, many adieus and good wishes were exchanged on all sides ere they were rowed away to the shore.

9th August.—This being the day fixed for our sailing from Tonga, I received letters of farewell from different quarters. That from Mr. Amos, on behalf of the Wesleyan missionaries, in addition to their own good wishes, conveyed those of our friends Mumui and Vaca-teu-ola, who, he said, would remember the entertainment of the night before, and the soft-sounding "lali," and other music, "as long as they were inhabitants of earth."

M. Chevron, in asking me to take charge of some letters for his brethren at Lakemba in the Feejees, was so obliging as to send me some specimens of coloured native cloth from Fotuna or Horn Island, where a branch of their mission resides. The bearer of his letter was the chief of the fort of Mua, and not, as he had intended, the Tui-Tonga, who for some reason, probably an apprehension of meeting the Christian chiefs, who do not respect him, and barely acknowledge his right to the title, had declined to come on board.

M. Caliñon also wrote from Bea, thanking me for my visit, the advantages of which to himself and his colleague, in raising their position in the eyes of the natives, he said, I could hardly comprehend. He repeated the accusations of intolerance, &c., against the Wesleyans which he had made to Mr. Knapp, and feared their efforts to disparage him would be renewed on our departure, and the flight of the pope from Rome represented as the downfall of the Catholic Church.

I thought it right to answer his letter, as I could

exonerate the missionaries from any charge of having attempted to prejudice us against the Roman Catholic priests, nor did I believe that they would make use of any unfair argument against their faith, founded on the political position of the pope, with respect to his subjects.

It is unnecessary to dwell longer on this disagreeable subject. However one may be disposed to believe that the Wesleyans display more intolerance towards the priests than is either politic or Christian, I must express my conviction that the charge of adopting as proselytes all who offer, without examination, is quite unfounded. The putting away of all but one wife—no small sacrifice on the part of a people who have practised polygamy for ages—is always insisted upon as a first step, and regular attendance on religious worship is also expected. Among the older Christians I saw every evidence of their having adopted the new faith from conscientious conviction. In one of the first houses Mr. Knapp entered on landing here, he found an old woman, with spectacles on nose, poring over the Scriptures; and the chiefs of the highest distinction are probably better read in the New Testament than any of the English who are met with among the islands.

The education of the children, a point which seems to have been neglected for some years, is now commenced by Mr. Amos with great vigour, and cannot fail to produce a strong effect on the next generation. If this increased activity on the part of the mission has been occasioned by the opposition of the priests, we may set it off against the disadvantages of their intrusion; and it certainly appeared to me that (perhaps from this very cause) a more cordial feeling existed in Tonga-tabu, between the missionaries and their flocks, than in Vavau and Lifuka, where the field was left clear to them.

Some difficulty arose about the pilot who was to conduct us to sea by the northern passage: our jolly-boat, which

had been sent to clear away a host of canoes from under the ship's stern, where their noise was intolerable, having by mistake, or excess of zeal, run against his canoe and broken the outrigger. He retired very sulky to the shore, but was induced to come off after a while, and we weighed about 1 P.M., just in time to enable him to benefit by the sun's position, in distinguishing the coral patches between which a ship steers to sea.

These patches seem never to have been correctly laid down, and several ships have touched upon them in sailing out. Even the natives will not undertake the pilotage when the sun is so far to the westward as to be in their eyes; but it would be an easy matter to make a detailed survey of the passages, and to buoy them off if necessary.

At 1.15 P.M. we passed between the north-east reef and that off the island of Atataa, on which we landed the pilot, who is entitled to a regular fee of two or three dollars for his services; and, bearing up west, made all sail on our passage to the Feejees.

I believe our position of Missionary Hill, as the elevation is called on which stands the Wesleyan chapel, does not differ in any degree from former observations.

Mr. Hilliard determined the latitude 21° 7′ 10″ S., and longitude 175° 13′ 45″ E.; the variation of the needle being 10° easterly.

The Tongans, in personal appearance, resemble so closely the Samoans, that no person would hesitate, at first sight, to pronounce them the same people; and as their habit of tattooing their bodies, from the hips to below the knees, is precisely similar, a stranger would find it difficult to distinguish individuals of the two groups if they were placed naked before him.

On further acquaintance with this people, one is struck with the marked superiority in stature and the lightness of colour on the part of the chiefs over the common people, betokening a great difference in the care bestowed on their

nursing and food during childhood, and the degree of exposure they are subjected to afterwards. That this distinction is not a mere outward one is soon perceived; the authority of the chiefs, as well as the gradations of rank, being everywhere apparent. The effect on manners is also evident, although not exactly what one would expect from a system which exacts great ceremony and attention from inferiors towards superiors. The manners of the chiefs are certainly as polished as those of the Samoans, and not inferior in courtesy to any in civilized life; but the common people, when not in the immediate presence of their chiefs, are much more rude and boisterous than in Samoa, and less agreeable people to deal with generally.

A natural result of the greater authority of chiefs would be to render the discussions and debates, by which all public affairs are carried on in Samoa, unnecessary here; and we find accordingly that a Tongan "fono,"[1] although conducted in a somewhat similar form, is a very different thing from that of their more republican neighbours, being considered rather as an occasion for admonition or exhortation from the chiefs, than as a council met for general deliberation and debate. I was, indeed, informed, but know not if correctly, that the period of speaking at this limited "fono" is confined to the time occupied in preparing the kava, a ceremony which, with the Samoans, is but one of the ordinary preliminaries. The habit of eloquence, as may be expected, is not nearly so common among the Tongans; and the consequent shortness of speech of the chiefs, and absence of profuse compliments, which custom exacts in the other case, were very remarkable.

The submission to authority and discipline is probably owing, in some measure, to their acquaintance with the Feejeeans, to whom they look up with great respect, especially in all matters connected with war. To the same

[1] Mariner's Tonga, vol. i. pp. 285 and following.

cause may be attributed their old habits of treachery and ferocity, evinced by their systematic attacks on foreign vessels, which have more than once been successful. The capture and massacre of the crew of the Port-au-Prince, an English armed ship of at least 24 guns and 60 men, so fully described by Mariner, at Lifuka; that of two whalers at Vavau, and the American ship Duke of Portland at Tonga-tabu, a few years later, may be mentioned among others; while the successful resistance made by the natives of the latter island to the whole force M. d'Urville could oppose to them in the Astrolabe in 1827, and the defeat and death of Commander Croker, of the Favourite, at the Fort of Bea, in 1840, attest their warlike abilities and courage. It seems also now to be admitted that so far back as the period of Captain Cook's visit to Hapai, when this people could hardly have recovered from the astonishment which their first acquaintance with Europeans and the knowledge of the superiority of their arms must have occasioned, his friend Feenau, whilst entertaining him magnificently at Lifuka, was calculating the chances of success of a treacherous attack on the strangers and their ships.

In imitation of the Feejeeans, the Tongans have occasionally practised cannibalism, but it does not appear ever to have become a confirmed habit. Some years before Mariner settled among them in 1806, the bodies of three seamen belonging to an European ship, who had been killed in an affray at Tonga, were cooked and eaten as pork. All those who partook of the feast were, however, shortly afterwards taken ill with nausea and vomiting, and three of them actually died, which some attributed to an unwholesome quality in white men's flesh, and others to the superior power of the foreigners' gods, who thus avenged their deaths.

Mariner himself witnessed two instances of cannibalism after successful battles, in the latter of which about forty persons partook of two or three bodies, which were cut up,

cooked, and eaten. He adds, however,[1] "that the natives of these islands are not to be called cannibals on this account; so far from its being a general practice, it is, on the contrary, generally held in abhorrence, and, where it is occasionally done, it is only by young warriors, who do it in imitation of the Feejee islanders, attaching to it an idea that there is something in it designating a fierce, warlike, and manly spirit. When the party in question returned to Neafoo after their inhuman repast, several persons, particularly women, avoided them, saying, 'Away; you are a man-eater!'"

They happily did not copy all the Feejeeans' other vices, more especially the unnatural practice of putting to death old persons when likely to become a burden to the living. Here they always received the greatest consideration and kindness; reverence to the gods, the chiefs, and aged persons, constituting a branch of their moral and religious duties. Children by a woman of inferior rank were occasionally sacrificed, with the father's consent, as an atonement for sacrilege or to avert some impending evil; but, in general, domestic attachments seem to have been as strong in Tonga as in any civilized country. The position of women in society has never been inferior to that of men, but, on the contrary, nobility has always descended by the female line; for where the mother is not noble, the children are not nobles. A man, also, marrying a woman superior to him in rank, was not thereby freed from the obligation of paying her those outward marks of respect which her position entitled her to. The high rank of the Tui-Tonga's elder sisters or aunts has been mentioned before; some other female branch of the royal family was entitled to the dignity of the "Tui-Tonga Fafine," and it is even said that, not many generations ago, the reigning office of Tui-kanukubolu was filled by a female, Tobou-mohe-ofo.

[1] Mariner's Tonga, vol. i. p. 204.

I saw no reason, during our short stay, to form any but the highest opinion of the modesty of the women. Even before the introduction of Christianity their moral character appears to have been much higher than at Tahiti and the Society Islands, although it could not be expected that, when chastity was more a custom than a virtue of the first order, it should always be proof against the temptations which Europeans had it in their power to offer. Some portion of the grossness of which the females of the Pacific Islands have been accused, it is surely just to attribute to the manners of the strangers, which have undoubtedly (in the case of seamen at least) undergone a marked change for the better during the last few years. It is certainly not too much to say, that scenes which have been related as of daily and hourly occurrence in former years, and which disgraced even the quarter-deck of the Pandora[1] at Namuka, in 1791, could not now possibly occur on board of a British ship of war.

In the ordinary intercourse of life the Tongans seem to have a strong sense of the ludicrous and a good deal of coarse humour. Captain Cook relates that on his first visit to Namuka the natives ridiculed the eagerness of the seamen to barter by offering sticks and stones in exchange, and one waggish boy even presented a piece of excrement in derision to every one he met with. Their wit was exercised against M. La Billardière, the historian of M. d'Entrecasteaux's expedition, on a more important occasion:[2] he having, in answer to inquiries as to the names of numbers in their language, received and recorded as those of the highest, to which they considered it absurd to reckon, words of the coarsest import; a joke which, in our country, would pass under the name of "selling bargains."

It was, perhaps, more from a love of boasting than from

[1] Voyage of the Pandora, by Hamilton, p. 87.
[2] Mariner's Tonga, vol. ii. p. 291.

a desire to ridicule them, that they persuaded the first missionaries who attempted to settle in 1797 that they held sovereign sway over Feejee[1]—a piece of vaunting of which the slightest acquaintance with the latter group must expose the falsehood; but, as in the former case, it is probable that the blame of the deceptions practised, lay with the common people, and not with the chiefs.

To give a history of their old superstitions, which have been discarded by even that portion of the people who are still called heathens, but who are evidently prepared to adopt some form of Christianity, would be beyond the scope of this Journal. For a full account of their mythology, and their manners and customs generally, it is only necessary to refer to the pages of Mariner, which have indeed been literally transcribed by more than one subsequent visitor.[2] Their notion of the creation of the island —viz. that it was drawn up from the sea by the hook of a divinity—was the same as that of the New Zealanders, but the operation is said to have been performed by the deity Tangaloa, whom the Samoans believed threw their lands down from the sky; the great creator of New Zealand, Maui, has been supposed here to play the inferior part of supporting the earth on his body. They were certainly a more religious people than the Samoans, and given to the worship of idols, many of which—such as Feaki, under the form of a whale's tooth, and Finau-tau-iku, a piece of cloth interwoven with small red feathers, to which human sacrifices are said to have been offered—are now in the collections of the missionaries.

The former practice of circumcision, or rather supercision, ought also to be mentioned as having prevailed among them, in common apparently with all the Polynesian tribes.

[1] Voyage of the Duff, p. 274.

[2] D'Urville, Voyage autour du Monde. Dillon, Discovery of the Fate of De la Perouse. M. d'Urville had the advantage of meeting with one of Mariner's shipmates, named Singleton, at Tonga, in 1827, and received much valuable information from him.

The abandonment of polygamy is, of course, insisted upon by the missionaries among their converts, and seems to be agreed to more readily than one would expect. It is asserted that the effects of this change, combined with other causes, have tended of late to an increase of the population. Captain Wilkes estimated their numbers in 1839 at 18,500, distributed as follows :—

Eoa	200
Hapai	4,000
Vavau	4,000
Keppel's Island[1] . .	1,000
Boscawen's . . .	1,300
Tonga	8,000
Total . .	18,500

The missionaries, who have now better opportunities of judging, consider that the whole population is much greater than the above; the Rev. Mr. Lawry, superintendent of the mission, saying that it was estimated in 1847 at about 50,000.[2] This probably includes Uvea or Uea (Wallis Island and the adjacent cluster, in lat. 13° 24' S.), which is not under George's rule, and cannot be properly considered as belonging to Tonga; but even with this addition the calculation appears excessive. In all the islands we visited, the proportion of children to the adult population seemed to be large, certainly much more so than in New Zealand; and although we saw several cases of elephantiasis and hydrocele, there was no prevailing epidemic. One bad instance of consumption, the sufferer being a young man, said to be a son of the king, was brought to Dr. Turnbull's notice at Lifuka, but the population generally seemed to be healthy.

[1] There appears to be some confusion as to the proper names of these islands. The missionaries always speak of Keppel's Island and Boscawen's as "Niua-tabu-tabu." On the other hand, Wilkes has omitted Niua-foou (Proby's Island of Captain Edwards), which has 800 inhabitants, and Funualai, which had a small population until the earthquake and eruption of 1846. There are besides a few people in Tofoa, &c.

[2] Lawry's Friendly and Feejee Islands, p. 245.

The people, especially at Lifuka and Tonga-tabu, have little turn for trade, their own manufactures, in which point they are much more industrious and skilled than the Samoans, seeming to suffice for their wants. Their old arms, such as clubs and spears, are larger and more serviceable, many of them having been brought from the Feejees; but war may be said to have ceased since 1840, and, if renewed, would probably be carried on with fire-arms, of which they knew the use very well in the year above mentioned.

The Tongan language—a dialect of the Polynesian—is as well known to philologists as any in the Pacific; as, besides Mariner's copious vocabulary in the old orthography, there is a dictionary printed by the missionaries at their press in Vavau, which is in general use among the English.

It is harsher, and differs more in sound from the Samoan than a stranger would expect; the conversion of the initial *s* into an aspirate being more than counterbalanced by the insertion of a hard *k* into words which occur frequently in conversation.

Mr. Hale, the indefatigable philologist of the United States' exploring expedition, found that in some points of grammatical construction, especially in the articles, the pronouns, and the passive voice of the verb, the Tongan dialect differs from all others properly termed Polynesian[1] —a difference to be referred probably to their intercourse with the Feejeeans, to whose language they have in turn contributed a large amount of change.

Many of the people understand English tolerably, and some can speak a few words, but they have a great difficulty in mastering the pronunciation of the consonants—forming no exception to other Malayo-Polynesians in this respect.

The islands abound with vegetables and fruit. Maize

[1] Hale's Philology of the United States Exploring Expedition, p. 118.

has already been mentioned as probably introduced by Cook; and they have shaddocks, oranges, and pine-apples of a later date. The Chinese banana (*Musa sinensis*) has been lately brought by the Roman Catholic missionaries from the Samoan islands, who are indebted for it to the Rev. John Williams; and from its prolific character is likely to prove a valuable addition to the provision-grounds. They have plenty of domestic poultry and pigs, although it would appear that there are now not nearly so many of the latter as in former years, when ships have been sent from New South Wales to salt down pork for colonial use. The larger animals have altogether failed, being discouraged by the people from the damage they occasioned to their slender reed-fences, and consequent destruction of the provision-grounds. I saw but one horse, belonging to the mission at Tonga-tabu, and there are no cattle, those left by Captain Cook having been destroyed from fear of accidents, as well as all their produce, except one young bull, which was sent to Feejee previous to 1797.[1] All the islands labour under the disadvantage of a bad supply of fresh water; the best watering-place for shipping being, it is said, at the small island of Pangai-motu, a few miles from Nukualofa in Tonga-tabu, but we had no occasion to use it.

This group being considerably to the southward of Samoa, the S.E. trade-wind blows with less constancy; and even in this season it will be remarked that we had frequent intervals of light westerly winds, which the natives term "vale" (mad or foolish). Hurricanes are common from November to March, and do much damage. They are described as beginning at N.W., veering to the eastward, and ending at S.E., the wind often changing immediately from one point to its opposite, which would indicate a revolving hurricane, with a direction to the N.E., the centre passing over the islands.

[1] Voyage of the Duff, p. 279.

Earthquakes are frequently felt, and banks are said to have risen to the westward of Tonga, which must be very dangerous to shipping. The following is the translation of an account given to me by M. Caliñon, one of the French missionaries, which he had obtained from the master of a British vessel, who had seen the bank in question :—

"The bank occupies a surface of about a quarter of a mile in extent, and is two or three feet above the level of the sea. I saw no appearance of vegetation upon it. The natives say that it has risen lately from the effects of an earthquake. I thought at first that it was upon this bank that the whaler the United States was wrecked on the 22nd of December, 1848; but the natives say that there is another bank, more to the westward, in the direction of Feejee, which is longer than the one I speak of, and does not rise above the level of the sea. The one in question, however, lies in lat. 20° 21′ S., and long. 177° 4′, W. from Paris."

Whether the position assigned by this gentleman be correct or not, I have very little doubt of the general truth of his information; the natives, who are seldom mistaken in these points, especially when the dangers lie, as these do, in a track frequented by them, being unanimous in declaring their belief in their existence.

A survey of all these islands, which, I believe, has never been completed (Captain Wilkes seeming to have left it unfinished), is much wanted for the use of the many whalers frequenting the neighbourhood; and it is to be hoped will, ere long, be accomplished by the British Government; thus connecting the labours of the United States Exploring Expedition at the Samoan and Feejeean groups. In our own case we were not even supplied with Captain Cook's sketch, and were consequently entirely dependent on native pilots and a very careful look-out.

Feejeean Village of Levuka, Ovolau.

Chap. V.—FEEJEE ISLANDS.

Passage from Tonga-tabu to the Feejees — Lakemba — Ovolau — White settlement — The chief Tui Levuka — Viwa — The chief of the fishermen — Bau — The chief Thakombau — Visit of the Butoni — Human victims — Three victims rescued — Town of Bau — Interview with Thakombau — Visit to Navindi — Great temple — Feast at Thakombau's — White men in the Feejees — Massacre of a French crew — Domestic slavery — Chiefs on board — Gunnery practice — Mr. Calvert's policy — A convivial scene — Feejeean polity — Ranks and titles — Kolo of Levuka — An escape — Nandi — Threatened attack — Bua — The chief Pita — Voluntary death — Fate of shipwrecked persons — The chief Tui Thakau buried alive — The chief Retova — Navigation of the Feejees — Appearance, language, religious belief, government, manners, &c., of the Feejeeans — Climate, productions, commerce, population, &c. — Missionary progress.

9th August.—We were now bound for Lakemba, one of the windward islands of the Feejee group, and a station of the Wesleyan mission. When we were well out of the passage, therefore (Hunga-Hapai and Hunga-tonga bearing N.W.), we steered West to clear all the banks existing

or supposed to exist in the neighbourhood, and, having run seventy miles on this course, hauled up a point or two more to the northward (passing to windward of Bitōa or Turtle Island, which is said to be laid down too far to the eastward in the charts) for the passage between the islands of Mōtha and Oneātă, called on Captain Wilkes's chart the Oneata passage. At noon on the 10th of August we were in lat. 19° 42′ S., long. 182° 15′ E., the wind having varied from E. to N.E., force of 6, with clear weather, the barometer 30·10in.

At 3 P.M. we made Ongĕa, the southernmost (if we except Turtle Island and Ono, which are quite detached from the group) of the Feejees, and Angasā, a little to the northward of it, when we hauled up N.N.W. At sunset Ongea bore S.W. by S., Angasa S. 70° W., and Motha, forming the south side of the Oneata passage, N. 67° W. Of these three islands (off each of which lie several smaller ones), Motha is the only peaked one, but all are of good height, and visible at twenty or thirty miles distance.

We hauled off for the night, and at daylight found ourselves in a very good position, Oneata bearing W. about ten miles, and the point of the Great Argo, or Bocatatanōa Reef, N. by W. about seven. This is a very dangerous reef, and derives its English name from that of a merchant-vessel wrecked upon it in 1806. Several have since been lost here, and it ought carefully to be avoided, there being evidently a strong westerly set, which had carried us two or three miles nearer to it than I had intended.

Ten or twelve miles to the eastward of Motha there are sunken reefs, and in the passage between it and Oneata is one nearly in the centre, called Tekutāka. The south side of Oneata is, however, quite safe, all dangers being visible. The channel is here four miles wide, and the run to Lakemba clear.

We rounded the south point of Lakemba, known by one of the remarkable mushroom-looking rocks often seen on the coral reefs, at 12 o'clock, getting no bottom with

120 fathoms of line within a quarter of a mile of the reef, and then discovered the village, off which we hove to. We were preceded by two large double canoes, heavily laden, one of which I was afterwards told had come from Ono. We had closed these canoes rapidly, and evidently outsailed them easily.

At 1 o'clock I landed with several of the officers, and was received by the Rev. Mr. Malvern, of the Wesleyan mission, who conducted us to his house, and presented us to his wife. A crowd of people was assembled on the beach to gaze on us and the ship, among whom several Tongans were easily distinguished from the Feejeeans, who are very different both in colour and dress, if the smallest possible maro, or bag of native cloth (masi) suspended from the loins, and an immense head of frizzled hair, sometimes covered with a turban of thin white gauze, merits the appellation. Some had their faces painted a deeper black, and wore beards and mustachios, looking very ferocious, and many carried clubs both for striking and throwing. The women wore generally a scanty petticoat of black filaments, and some were very good-looking, with less of the negro cast of countenance than the men, in which it was very remarkable.

As I was anxious to procure a pilot for the anchorage off Viwa, the missionary station near the large island of Viti Levu, we walked to a neighbouring village to see a man whom Mr. Malvern described as the ambassador or governor of Lakemba, on the part of Thakombau, the great chief of Bau, to whom this island is tributary. We found him in the same scanty dress as the others, with his face painted black, and both he and his wife, a stout, good-humoured woman, received us very politely. The wife's hair was frizzed out to an extraordinary degree, and in the lobe of one ear she wore, as an ornament, a piece of wood, which had been a reel for cotton thread. We failed in getting a pilot, there being no other Bau or Viwa men here, but ascertained that there was a considerable number

of white men[1] settled at the port of Levuka, in the island of Ovolau, some of whom were accustomed to act in that capacity on board of vessels trading among the group in trepang (called here "*biche de mer*") and tortoise-shell. The "Bure," or heathen temple, a small oblong building, with a disproportionately high thatched roof, was apparently going to decay. It had two or three doors, with a projection in the thatch, to throw off the wet, over the principal one in the end of the building; but it contained only a shelf or two, intended for offerings, and a few sticks on legs, like large native pillows.

We then proceeded to another village of considerable extent (although many houses had lately been burnt by an accidental fire), where Tui-Neau, the chief or king of Lakemba, resides.[1] The town has been fortified, that is, surrounded by a mound and ditch, which we had to cross more than once, on the slippery trunks of felled cocoa-nut trees. Here and there was a gate, fortified after the Tongan fashion, with loopholes for musketry, and a traverse leading to it, but the defences were not kept in repair. We found the old chief, a man of immense size, and of advanced years, returning from his bath, attended by one or two followers, and sat down with him in his temporary house, his other having been burned, and not yet rebuilt. Captain Wilkes has recorded several acts of his brutality and cruelty, but his character must have undergone a change, as Mr. Malvern gave him, although a heathen, a very good reputation for humanity and general conduct. I made him some trifling presents, telling him they were to mark my sense of his kindness to the missionaries, and that I hoped to hear of his becoming a Christian before he died, at which he smiled, but made no reply.[2] We afterwards visited the new house of another chief, built on an elevated platform of stone, and constructed much on the Tongan

[1] Neau, from which this chief takes his title, is one of the neighbouring small islands. The title of "Tui Lakemba" is a sacred one, applied to one of their gods or demi-gods.

[2] I have since heard that this chief in 1850 embraced Christianity.

principle, with elliptical ends, and the beams ornamented with coloured cocoa-nut plait. The sides or walls were, however, solid, with windows, the frames of which, formed of reeds bound together to represent a kind of fluting, were very ornamental. The interior was divided into one or two compartments by screens of native cloth, of a handsomer pattern, especially the borders, than any we had seen in the other islands, some large pieces of which we bought from the women, for white cotton-cloth, which they seemed much to desire. These screens were in some cases coloured yellow with turmeric, and some young infants, who with their mothers occupied one of the rooms thus divided, had a very singular appearance, being completely painted with the same substance, which is supposed to conduce to health. In the house of an old woman, close by, we were treated with cocoa-nuts, and were much amused with her expressions of surprise and pleasure, expressed by striking her mouth with her hand (as Arab women are said to perform the "taklehl") on seeing so many "papalangi" chiefs enter her dwelling. It was not very clean, but full of different utensils for cooking or eating from, such as bowls of glazed crockery of native manufacture, of tolerable forms, ornamented with mouldings round the edges, and plenty of well-made mats for sitting or reclining.

On our return to the mission-house we met a number of men in full dress, that is, painted either black or red, their hair frizzed out, and decorated with blue beads, some wearing garters or bands tied in bows under the knee, and a few with a kilt or petticoat, resembling that of the women. Each carried a short cane, with an oblong, pear-shaped head, forming a kind of blunt dart, with which a game called "tika," or "titika," is played. We followed them to the spot, which presented a very gay scene, a hundred or so of persons being assembled at the sides of a level, well-swept mall, about one hundred and fifty yards

long, and five or six wide, skirted with trees and shrubs. Each player advanced in turn, and threw his dart at a mark placed at the end of the mall, but none of them exhibited much skill, nor did the game seem to us one of any interest, and all were quiet and decorous.

Mrs. Malvern and Mrs. Watsford, the wife of another missionary now absent, had prepared refreshments for us, and would have loaded us with specimens of native cloth and other curiosities. Many we were obliged to decline, but we availed ourselves of their kindness to carry off some interesting objects of native manufacture. According to Mr. Malvern's account the population of the island is about 800, of whom the majority are Christians; and the whole number of their converts in the district, embracing several of the windward islands, amounts to 1500, besides many who, although not professing, occasionally attend the church services. The people in general he represented as quiet and orderly, and he attributed to them in every respect a character superior to that of the Tongans, who come to this group from their own islands to build their large double canoes. I was accosted on the beach in excellent English by one of these Tongan chiefs, named Nathan,[1] who told me he was a brother of our friend Mumui, the governor of Tonga-tabu, and was shortly about to return thither with a large double canoe, which he had nearly completed at Somo-Somo. He had come to Lakemba for provisions, and wished me much to supply him with a compass, which I regretted I was unable to do. He had learned his English, he said, from the old missionaries by whom he had been baptized, but

[1] Nathan seems to be the man who, under the name of "Latou," accompanied M. d'Urville from Lakemba to Bau in October 1838. He is described by M. d'Urville as half-brother and servant of Latchika, whose baptismal name was "Williams." This latter is said to have been the son of Tombo-Mouha, son of Finau chief of Vavau, by a daughter of the Tui-kanakabolu.—Voyage dans l'Océanie, pp. 165 and 195. This would make him brother of Maafu, if not Maafu himself, who, it will be remembered, headed the sandal-wood party to the New Hebrides in 1842, and who, I understand, is at this time in the Feejees.

for several years had, with a number of his countrymen, been residing in the Feejees.

Mr. Malvern believed cannibalism to have ceased in this district, and to be gradually falling into disrepute everywhere, those who formerly boasted of the custom being now ashamed to practise it openly. At the same time he acknowledged that in the larger islands, where there is a dense population at a distance from the coast, there was no means of obtaining information, and it does not seem probable that as yet any great improvement can have been effected in their manners. There appears to be some little apprehension of war, as Lakemba is disposed to shake off her dependence on Bau, who is not likely to surrender her rights without a struggle.

The appearance of this island is very different from that of Tonga, being hilly and not very thickly wooded, the soil apparently a red loam. The plains seem fertile, and are very carefully cultivated. Artificial pieces of water are to be seen here and there, with taro growing on their edges, and the ditch of the town seems to be occasionally used for irrigation. There are good paths between the villages, in some places bordered with regular avenues of cocoa-nut trees and the pandanus, with the leaves of which they thatch their houses.

The hills look well adapted for feeding cattle, but there are as yet on the island but one bull and two or three cows belonging to the missionaries, and no sheep. The natives seem a much more commercial people than any we have yet met with. Two or three double canoes were at anchor off the beach, filled with merchandise. In one about to sail, two fellows were beating away, each with two short knobbed sticks, on a "lali" or wooden drum, the same as those of Tonga. In our short traffic with them they were anxious for articles of clothing. Having occasion to look into the king's house an hour after our first visit, we found one of his officers of state dressing in a shirt, with a cap on his

head, which had formed part of my present to Tui-Neau. I believe the chiefs here, as elsewhere, share away very liberally any things given to themselves.

There are two French Roman Catholic missionaries stationed at Lakemba, but, as at Tonga-tabu, it is to be feared that their presence will tend rather to retard than advance the improvement of the natives. The practice of this mission, in availing themselves of the pioneership of men of a different sect, for the purpose of undermining their exertions, cannot be too severely reprobated. I did not see the two priests here, but could not avoid feeling compassion for them as individuals. Being very irregularly furnished with supplies from their own country, they are sometimes dependent for the common necessaries of life. on the Wesleyans, for whom they entertain the strongest dislike, and who cannot be expected to treat them otherwise than as mischievous intruders; nor are their privations in any way compensated by success in their objects. I was enabled to render them the trifling service of taking charge of some letters for France, which were sent down to my boat.

There is a small spot here, inside of the reef, where vessels of 200 tons and under, may anchor, but large ships must keep under way. This little port is called the Dawa, and is barely large enough for one vessel to swing in. The entrance being only fifty or sixty yards wide, and a strong current generally setting out, it can only be entered with a commanding breeze to the southward of east.

We got on board, and made sail by half-past five P.M., steering West to pass between the islands of Ngau and Nairai, and having a run of ninety miles, clear of all dangers, for the night.

12*th August.*—After a good run during the night, we made Ngau and Nairai in the morning, and passed between them in the course of the forenoon. As we ad-

vanced, Batiki and Wataia made their appearance, and soon afterwards Ovolau was seen ahead. The peaks of that island were obscured by clouds, as was the highland of Viti Levu beyond it; but the shores of Ovolau and the surrounding reef being distinctly visible, we steered directly in for the land, taking Captain Wilkes's chart for a guide, and soon made out the opening in the reef abreast of the former site of the village of Levuka, a name now given to the anchorage.

When nearly up to the opening (a passage 200 or 300 yards wide), a boat came off containing two white men and Tui Levuka, the chief of the district. One of the former, named William Simpson, a native of London, and a very intelligent man, piloted the ship in, in which there is no difficulty, and we anchored at 3h. 30m. in fourteen fathoms, about 800 yards off shore, the point of Levuka bearing S. by W., and the south point of Wakaia E. by N.

The foreign settlement on Ovolau consists of fourteen or fifteen white men (principally English and Americans) and their families, the women being all natives either of Feejee or the neighbouring islands. The most influential man among them is an American named David Whippy, whom Captain Wilkes mentions in 1840 as having at that time resided eighteen years in the group, where he had been originally left as a collector of trepang, &c., for a trading vessel which had neglected to return for him.

He is a man of excellent character, and has succeeded by his good example in giving a tone of order and true respectability to the community, who govern themselves by their own regulations, expelling or refusing to receive persons of dissipated habits or guilty of egregious misconduct. They seem to exercise an influence over the minds of their black neighbours inferior only to that of the missionaries; and it is a matter of regret that neither their own circumstances, nor those of the mission, have as yet enabled them to establish a regular system of education for

their numerous children, who might in future be successfully employed in introducing and spreading habits of civilization. Whippy was nominated United States consular agent shortly after Captain Wilkes's return to America, and he and our pilot Simpson are now trading partners, possessing a nice-looking schooner of 28 tons, built by the latter, whose trade was formerly that of a shipwright.

About six years ago a man of notorious character, named Charles Pickering, a native of New South Wales, residing at or near Bau, had been suspected by Thakombau, then carrying on a war with Rewa (a district which he has since subjugated), of carrying information to his enemies, and had, from fear of the consequences, fled to Lakemba. A party was despatched by Thakombau to capture him, but some of the white men of Ovolau, hearing of the circumstances, preceded the Bau canoes and carried him off. It was said afterwards that these white men had driven a hard bargain with Pickering, stipulating for a high reward for saving his life, which would certainly have been forfeited. Be that as it may, Thakombau, indignant at missing his revenge, ordered the whole settlement, whom he considered as leagued against him, to quit Ovolau, his tributary, giving them the option either of returning to his enemies' country at Rewa, to the south, or to the large island of Vanua Levu, to the northward. They chose the latter, and selected a spot called So Levu (or, according to the corrupted foreign pronunciation, Sua Lib), about seven miles to the westward of the mission station of Nandi, whither they removed their families and effects. Thakombau soon repented of his rigour, and sent several messages to invite them to return to Levuka; but being now comfortably settled, and having already one or two small vessels on the stocks, they were unwilling to quit their new abode. The station, however, proved to be much more sickly than the old one, and, after losing by disease fifteen or sixteen of their number, who died during

the last eighteen months of their stay at So Levu, they, only a few months before our arrival, had returned in a body to occupy their old position. They found, to their annoyance, their friend Tui Levuka at war with the mountaineers (or the Livoni tribe) of Ovolau, who made frequent incursions into their country; so when we first saw them they had not rebuilt their village, but were living in temporary habitations.

We were all much pleased with Tui Levuka, at least after he had got over the effects of a glass of rum, which some person gave him on his first coming on board, and which seemed to stupify him. He is a young man, the son of the Tui Levuka mentioned by Captain Wilkes, and has a very good reputation among the white people. His dress was simple enough. To the usual "maro" was added a wrapper of native cloth, and he wore a necklace of white shells, and a turban (the "sala," permitted to chiefs only) of white gauze round his head, which was frizzed out to a considerable size, but not to that of the ambassador's wife at Lakemba. His figure was slight, but very muscular, the forehead of a good height, and the features not negro, although the nose was slightly flattened and the mouth wide, with regular teeth. His black beard and mustachios were thick, but of moderate length, and the skin a decided black, quite different from the copper colour of the other Polynesians. After recovering from his rum, which he soon did, he was invited to dinner in the gun-room, where, as usual on Sundays, I was dining with the officers. Nothing could be better bred than his behaviour at table, and his quickness in catching the manners of those about him was surprising. I saw him hand an empty plate, which he did not require, to an officer who was in want of one; and observing his neighbour, Captain Jenner, who carried his arm in a sling from a hurt received a few days previously, vainly attempting to cut something placed before him, he performed the office with his own knife,

with the most ready but inobtrusive politeness. He drank some wine, but in moderation, showing that the effect of the rum was unexpected or had put him on his guard. When the drums and fifes struck up as usual in the evening, he attended with great delight, and was very curious about the different instruments and their players. A few lanterns were got up to enable him to see, and he went round with one in his hand, examining carefully the manner of each person's performance. A very small boy, who played the fife, attracted his attention particularly, and he became quite wrapped in wonder, holding the light up to the boy's mouth to see if it really produced the sound. He was very much pleased with a fiddle, but the soft sound of the bass drum seemed always to be the great attraction, and we persuaded him to beat an air on one of the small ones, accompanied on the former by one of his own countrymen. Several of these had come on board, and were quiet and well-behaved. They had paddled round the ship, with the exclamation of "Vināka, vinaka!" (good, good), but without the clamour of the Tongans.

Our first introduction to these people was, therefore, calculated to give us a favourable impression of them, and from the accounts the Lakemba missionaries had given of their flocks I was induced to hope and believe that the stories we had heard of their evil practices were either much exaggerated, or related to customs now obsolete. A very short acquaintance, however, was necessary to undeceive us.

13*th August*.—I left the ship this afternoon in the barge, accompanied by Captain Jenner, Lieuts. Pollard and Spain, and Dr. Turnbull, for the small island of Viwa, the mission station of this district, and which, from its proximity to Bau, the capital of the most powerful chief in the group, may be considered the most important among the Feejees. There is a somewhat intricate channel, called, from an island of the name, the Moturiki Passage, by which ships of considerable draught may

approach either Bau or Viwa, where there is very good anchorage. The distance from Levuka is twenty-two miles, in a southerly direction, and the passage is well known to some of the white men; but as a ship of our draught might be detained for some days by calms or foul winds, not unfrequent in the neighbourhood of the land, and my time was limited, I left her to complete water at Levuka.

We only found water sufficient for our boat inside of the reef, for a few miles of the distance, and saw a large double canoe, which was following us, run ashore in attempting one of the passages, although she soon got afloat again. We were afterwards met by a smaller canoe, which bore up in the direction of Bau as we approached; and Simpson, who accompanied us as pilot and interpreter, told us she had been sent out to reconnoitre us, and report our movements. We arrived at Viwa, a little before sunset, disembarking on a long mud flat, left dry by the tide, where the Rev. Messrs. Lyth and Calvert were awaiting us. The former inhabits a good substantial house a little way from the sea, on the slope of a hill; and the latter, another situated on the beach; and we were most comfortably put up by them, the gentlemen and their wives vying in attention to us.

We had just sat down to tea at Mr. Lyth's, when Navindi, the chief of the "Lasakau," or fishermen, and the one next in importance to Thakombau, walked in, having crossed from Bau to inquire if the missionaries had received any news from Ovolau, accounts having reached the capital of the arrival of a ship at Levuka, with a crew of a thousand men. This chief was apparently under thirty years of age, of very fine figure and proportions, and altogether of prepossessing appearance. His face was painted red; and the chief's white gauze turban covered his large head of hair. He wore no covering but the ordinary wrapper; but had a boar's tusk, nearly circular, suspended from his neck, and he carried a large

Navindi, Chief of the Fishermen, Feejee Islands.

flat-headed club, well battered, as if by service, about the blade, which was daubed with red ochre. He took his place with perfect ease at the table, being kindly received by Mr. and Mrs. Lyth, who presented him to us. His manners were modest and gentle; and he left us even more pleased with him than we had been with Tui Levuka, being charged to announce to his chief, Thakombau, my intention of visisting him in the morning.

Viwa is a small island, of moderate height, supposed by the missionaries to contain about 400 acres, and covered with bread-fruit and other useful trees, which support a population of two or three hundred persons. It has been selected by the missionaries for their principal station, from its proximity to the island of Bau, which, although only two miles in circumference, contains a population of about a thousand souls, and is, in fact, the capital of the most powerful tribe in the group. Both the principal chiefs of Viwa (Namosemalua and Verani), and the greater number of the inhabitants, have embraced Christianity, the "bure" or heathen temple being given up to the mission, who have also on the island two good houses, a chapel,

and a printing-press. The missionaries' principal native assistant is the younger of the two chiefs mentioned before, Verani, whose name is said to be a corruption of Frane or France, from his having served, in 1834, in a French brig, the Josephine, which he betrayed to his countrymen, who seized her, and murdered the greater number of the crew. For this outrage M. d'Urville, in 1838, burnt the town of Viwa; but, as usual, the perpetrators made their escape. Verani (whom M. d'Urville speaks of as "Franck") excused himself on the plea that he was obliged by his uncle (mentioned as Nakalassé by the French, but whom I suppose to have been Namosemalua) to act the part he did at the peril of his own life; and he is, by all accounts, quite a reformed character now, which may readily be believed by those who have seen the extraordinary changes effected on the minds of savage people by the adoption of a new and mild religion. Hitherto the chief of Bau has not admitted a missionary into his city; but Mr. Calvert, who has great influence over him, has obtained the promise of a site for a house, and is contemplating putting up one shortly. This remarkable chief, whose name is Seru, took that of Thakombau,[1] by which he is generally known, some years since, from his having raised an insurrection in Bau, which consolidated his father's authority; and he has more lately assumed the title of Tui Viti, or chief of Feejee, by which it is said he had been addressed by General Miller, the British consul-general for the islands of the Pacific. He is about thirty-five years of age, and his father Tanoa is still alive, who, according to Feejeean custom, has ceded the sovereign rule to his son, although he still takes an occasional part in politics, and has great influence. I did not see Tanoa during our stay, he being absent at Rewa, a district on the south side of Viti Levu, lately subjugated by Bau, employed in com-

[1] "Disturb-Bau," or "Make-bad-Bau."

posing a quarrel between the late king's two brothers, Thakonauto or Phillips, and Naraningiou.

Bau owes its importance to its insular position, rendering it easily defensible except against fire-arms, and to its neighbourhood to Viti Levu, the largest and principal island of the group, a great part of which is tributary to it, as are also many of the windward islands, such as Lakemba, several districts of Vanua Levu, and the very remarkable island of Taveūnĕ, or Vuna, of which the principal village is Somo-Somo. The town or city of Bau seems to consist of three divisions, viz., Soso, Bua, and Lasakau,[1] the latter meaning the fishermen, of whom Navindi is chief, being next in importance to Thakombau and his great friend. Other tribes are also considered as actually belonging to Bau, the sailors (or Butoni), for instance, who, from the redundancy of the population at home, are permitted to hire out their services to other chiefs, under the obligation of returning to the capital at intervals of several years, to pay tribute to their own sovereign.

The last great visit of one of these tribes had taken place but a few weeks previously, when 400 men, women, and children of the sailors, spoken of above as the Butoni, had arrived in nine large canoes, and were still remaining at Bau. An account of the mode of their reception and entertainment, as given to me by our hosts (whose wives played a conspicuous part on the occasion), and corroborated by the testimony of many of the whites resident here, affords such an illustration of the manners of Feejee that I insert it in full, particularly as I shall have to refer to it occasionally in relating my interview with Thakombau, and as it necessarily influenced our opinions and treatment of these people during our stay among them.

This visit then, being the first paid by the Butoni for six or seven years, and the quantity of tribute being very

[1] "At home on a spar."

large, it was considered proper to give them a handsome reception. A large house, called the "Ulu ni Puaka," or "pig's head," was prepared for the accommodation of themselves and their families, and food collected from all directions for their entertainment. According to custom, a family called the "Vusarandabe" was called upon to furnish meat for the first breakfast, and, as it concerned their pride that this should be of the best, steps were taken to provide one or two human bodies. As Bau was not actually at war with any of the neighbouring tribes, and no enemies were to be had, some little management was necessary to secure this supply; but at last, through the co-operation of a tributary town on Viti Levu, called Nandavio, and, it was said, by the assistance of two Tahitians, or Malayo-Polynesians, residing at Bau, two poor wretches were entrapped on a small island, called Anutha, or Yanutha, and brought to the capital, where they were slaughtered and eaten. The missionaries, who are disposed to think well of Thakombau's intentions, suppose that, had the example not been set by the Vusarandabe, he would have been satisfied with supplying his guests with pigs. It now, however, became a point of honour with him, his turn for supplying the breakfast having arrived, not to be excelled in munificence by his inferiors; and the chiefs of Nasilai, a city of Rewa, which had been lately subjugated, were ordered to forward the required provision to Bau. One man only was obtained from this source, when Navindi, the "Turanga ni Lasakau," or chief of the fishermen, whose duty it is more particularly to procure human flesh, and who might have taken offence at the presumption of the Vusarandabe in preceding him, was ordered to perform his horrible office. Taking with him accordingly the "nambete," or priest, he started with several canoes for Nakelo,[1] a town situated on a river or

[1] Nakelo has in Feejee the extraordinary distinction of eating no human flesh, abstinence from which is its peculiar "tabu."

branch of the sea connecting Rewa with the coast of the main land opposite to Bau. An ambush laid here having failed, it became doubtful whether it would not be necessary to have recourse to their own resources; that is, to slaughter some of their own slaves to furnish the Butoni banquet, a sacrifice of course to be avoided if possible. The priest's aid was accordingly invoked, Navindi hinting at the same time that, should they continue unsuccessful, he (the priest) would probably be one of the victims himself. The oracle having been consulted, a hundred bodies are promised by the gods, and the party continued their course, skirting along under the overhanging mangroves to the village of Notho. Here they lay concealed till low water, when the women are accustomed to come to the coast to pick shell-fish for food, and, sallying out at the proper time, secured fourteen of these defenceless and unsuspecting beings, one or two being clubbed to death, as a rush was made to escape. One man, attempting to save either his wife or daughter, shared her fate, but, with this exception, all were of the softer sex, and they were immediately conducted in triumph to Bau.

On Sunday, the 29th of July, the hollow sound of the awful "lali," or sacred drum, bore across the water to Viwa the intelligence that a cargo of human victims had arrived in Bau, and a native Christian chief (I believe Namosemalua), who had quitted the capital to bring the information to the mission, related to the shuddering ladies, whose husbands were absent at Bua, or Sandalwood Bay, in Vanua Levu, on their usual annual meeting, the whole of the circumstances of the capture. In the course of the day different reports as to the intentions of the authorities were brought over, but in the evening came a definitive one, that all were to be slaughtered on the morrow.

And then was enacted a scene which ought to be ever memorable in the history of this mission.

On the Monday morning Mrs. Lyth and Mrs. Calvert,

accompanied only by the Christian chief above mentioned, embarked in a canoe for Bau to make an effort to save the lives of the doomed victims. Each carried a whale's tooth decorated with ribbons, a necessary offering on preferring a petition to a chief, for even in this exciting moment these admirable women did not neglect the ordinary means of succeeding in their benevolent object. As they landed at the wharf, not far from the house of old Tanoa, the father of Thakombau, and in this instance the person to whom they were to address themselves, the shrieks of two women then being slaughtered for the day's entertainment chilled their blood, but did not daunt their resolution. They were yet in time to save a remnant of the sacrifice. Ten had been killed and eaten, one had died of her wounds, the life of one girl had been begged by Thakombau's principal wife, to whom she was delivered as a slave, and three only remained. Regardless of the sanctity of the place, it being "tabued" to women, they forced themselves into old Tanoa's chamber, who demanded, with astonishment at their temerity, what these women did there? The Christian chief, who well maintained his lately adopted character, answered for them, that they came to solicit the lives of the surviving prisoners, presenting at the same time the two whale's teeth. Tanoa, apparently still full of wonder, took up one of these, and, turning to a messenger, desired him to carry it immediately to Navindi, and ask "If it were good?" A few minutes were passed in anxious suspense. The messenger returned, and "It is good" was Navindi's answer. The women's cause was gained, and old Tanoa thus pronounced his judgment: "Those who are dead, are dead; those who are alive shall live." With their three rescued fellow-creatures these heroic women retired, and already had the satisfaction of experiencing that their daring efforts had produced a more than hoped-for effect. A year or two ago no voice but that of derision would have been raised

towards them, but now, on returning to their canoe, they were followed by numbers of their own sex blessing them for their exertions, and urging them to persevere.

Any further remarks on the conduct of our countrywomen on this occasion would be superfluous. If anything could have increased our admiration of their heroism, it was the unaffected manner in which, when pressed by us to relate the circumstances of their awful visit, they spoke of it as the simple performance of an ordinary duty.

The history of this late occurrence was thus, it may be said, our introduction to this people, and it may readily be supposed was not likely to elevate our new acquaintances in our estimation. I could not, however, fail to admire the tolerant tone of the missionaries when speaking of these enormities. Accustomed for years to witness scenes such as few believe are to be seen on the earth, and to combat the wildest errors step by step with slow but almost certain success, these good men know well that a constant expression of indignation, such as must naturally rise in the mind of a stranger, could neither satisfy their own sense of duty, nor produce the desired effects on the unhappy beings to whose loftiest interests they have, with such self-sacrifice, devoted themselves.

Navindi, therefore, whose natural disposition they describe as kindly and confiding, was received quite on the footing of a friend, and Thakombau was also spoken of as a man of great energy and good intentions, by whose instrumentality much good might yet be effected among his numerous subjects or dependents.

We retired to rest, looking forward with much interest to our intended visit of the following day.

14*th August*.—After breakfast this morning, having sent round the barge to the side of the island fronting Bau, we embarked with Messrs. Lyth and Calvert, for the capital, a distance of about two miles.

The island of Bau itself is scarcely a mile in length, and with the exception of the summit, which serves as the deposit of all the dirt and refuse, is covered with houses disposed in irregular streets, reminding one, in a degree, of the poorer parts of some of our West India towns; the houses are certainly of a better description than any we have yet seen, and more calculated for the privacy of domestic life, although the freshness and cleanliness of the more open Samoan and Tongan habitations are wanting. The principal feature of the town is the great "bure," or temple, which stands in an irregular square, on a basement a few feet above the level of the ground, its roof being two or three times higher than the walls, beautifully thatched and ornamented with cocoa-nut plait, and the long external ridge-pole decorated with white cowrie-shells. Many smaller temples like chapels, similarly adorned, are seen in different directions, and show a much more organized system of religious worship than among the Malayo-Polynesians.

We landed at a good wharf, close to the house of old Tanoa, who was absent at Rewa, but we entered and inspected this singular den, the scene of the late interview with the ladies of the mission. The low door admitted but one person at a time, and the chamber was small and dark, containing only a bed of mats elevated a few feet above the floor, on which lay an enormous club, while a few muskets and other arms were suspended from the rafters. The chief's women invited us to enter the adjoining house, their residence, which, except in its larger dimensions—being 60 feet long by 30 feet wide, with a very high roof—differed little from that of Tui Neau, at Lakemba. It was full of all kinds of valuable merchandize, such as rolls of native cloth and cocoa-nut fibre cordage, with large quantities of bowls and cooking utensils of crockery of native manufacture. As in other houses, a fire being kept constantly burning, and there being no chimney, the smoke was very oppressive, and

had tinged the rafters and every part of the roof a deep and not unpicturesque brown colour.

We arrived at last at the residence of Thakombau himself, and here we were received with much ceremony. An entrance having been cleared for us through bundles of native cloth, immense coils of cordage, and other articles, the produce of the late Butoni tribute, the chief himself—the most powerful, perhaps, of any in the Pacific, and certainly the most energetic in character—was seen seated in the attitude of respect to receive us. He rose, however, as we entered, seeing that it was expected, unfolding, as he did so, an immense train of white native cloth, eight or ten yards long, from his waist, and invited me to occupy the one chair he possessed, the others taking their seats on rolls of cloth, or, like the natives, sitting cross-legged on the floor. It was impossible not to admire the appearance of the chief: of large, almost gigantic, size, his limbs were beautifully formed and proportioned; his countenance, with far less of the negro cast than among the lower orders, agreeable and intelligent; while his immense head of hair, covered and concealed with gauze, smoke-dried and slightly tinged with brown, gave him altogether the appearance of an eastern sultan. No garments confined his magnificent chest and neck, or concealed the natural colour of the skin, a clear but decided black; and in spite of this paucity of attire—the evident wealth which surrounded him showing that it was a matter of choice and not of necessity—he looked "every inch a king." The missionaries said that he was a little agitated with the prospect of our interview, but I confess I did not discover it. Not far from him sat his principal and favourite wife, a stout, good-looking woman, with a smiling expression, and her son, Thakombau's heir, a fine boy of eight or nine, and he was surrounded at a respectful distance by a crowd of crouching courtiers. This crouching posture must be adopted not merely when sitting, but when moving about,

in his presence, and I have even seen Navindi assume it when passing before him. He saluted Messrs. Lyth and Calvert with kindness, and, saying a few words of courtesy to me, resumed his seat, and awaited the opening of our proceedings. This I soon did by requesting Mr. Calvert to translate an address to the chief, which I first slowly repeated in English to this effect:—That he, the chief of Feejee, might see by my visit that the Queen of England's ships do not come among these islands merely as punishers of misdeeds, but to testify on the part of the queen, as friendly ambassadors, her Majesty's desire to cultivate their friendship and to see the cause of civilization and religion advanced among them. Wherever British subjects were to be found, there also it would be seen that the eye of their sovereign was upon them; and whilst she would insist upon their being treated with justice and consideration, they also would be obliged to live according to the laws. In cases where British subjects refused to conform to the laws of the country, I, as commanding her Majesty's naval forces, would, on a proper representation being made by the chief, remove such persons, or send a ship to convey them away; but that redress would be demanded if any violence were offered either to their persons or property. Alluding to a representation which had been made to me, that Thakombau, knowing that the queen had a resident consul in Samoa, was very desirous that such an officer should live in his dominions to look after his fellow-countrymen and arrange their disputes with Feejeeans, I desired him to understand that he could expect no such favour whilst scenes were enacted in his capital (referring to the late massacre on the occasion of the Butoni visit) which we, as well as all civilized nations, looked upon with the greatest horror and disgust. An opportunity, however, might shortly occur for him to show the sincerity of his friendly protestations, namely, a similar tributary visit from the

island of Somo-Somo, when it had hitherto been usual to sacrifice a greater number than ordinary of human beings; and I relied upon him to furnish proof of his good intentions, by prohibiting all cannibalism on the coming occasion on the part of his own people, and discouraging it on that of others over whom he had less control. The visit of the ladies of the mission to his father was alluded to, as showing the strong feeling English people entertained on this subject, and the risks even their women were willing to run to assist in the suppression of the odious practice.

This speech, carefully and deliberately translated by Mr. Calvert, was listened to with great attention, and, except on one occasion, when the language in reprobation of cannibalism appeared somewhat too strong, in perfect silence. At the time alluded to, Thakombau's feelings got the better of his natural politeness, and he said, in a hurried tone, a few words, of which I could only catch the expression "bula-ma-kau." He recovered himself, however, immediately, evidently ashamed of the impoliteness of the interruption, and, when Mr. Calvert had finished, made me a very civil reply. With every protestation of a desire to live well with the white men, and especially to protect the missionaries, in which I believe he was perfectly sincere, he touched lightly on the subject of cannibalism, giving a kind of conventional denial to its habitual exercise, and saying it had been the custom of their fathers, but was now giving way to better habits. He ended by inviting us to eat with him, a piece of attention which Mr. Calvert said he had never yet shown to any European, which we accepted, promising to return at the dinner-hour after strolling through the town. On retiring I asked Mr. Calvert the meaning of the chief's interruption to his translation of my speech, and was told that, at the moment of expressing our horror at the practice of eating their fellow-men, he broke out, "that it was all very well for us who had plenty of beef (bula-ma-kau) to remonstrate, but

they had no beef but men." Mr. Calvert added, that a look of satisfaction with the tenor of my speech from his wife, to whose opinion he pays great deference, and who has lately adopted the missionaries' notions on this subject, had excited him to a very unusual outbreak on so formal an occasion, for which he was heartily ashamed, as a reflection on his good breeding—a point the chiefs pique themselves on extremely.

It was decided, upon leaving Thakombau's house, that a visit should be paid to Navindi, as, although the former's superiority is fully acknowledged, some little jealousy might be felt if all our attentions were directed to one object. We accordingly proceeded thither, down a narrow lane, with houses on either side.

As we approached his door, a party of men were engaged in taking out of a hot stone oven, constructed on one side of the pathway, a whole pig, intended for our entertainment; and as we entered the house, a clapping of hands proclaimed that the chief had that moment finished his draft of kava, called here "angona."

This party was evidently met to receive us, and we were soon seated in the centre of the circle with Navindi, painted, and in full dress, with a flowing train, differing from Thakombau's in being of divers colours, and his principal wife, a pretty young woman, attended by several handmaidens, the dress of all the women being a decent petticoat. The pig was then brought in and presented to me; and having been, by my desire, cut up "faka Fiji," or in Feejeean fashion, portions were handed round, together with excellent yams, on banana-leaves and flat pieces of wood. Being asked how the rest was to be disposed of, I begged those present to accept of a quarter, and desired the remainder to be carried down to the barge's crew. I heard afterwards that our men, having some suspicion that all was not right, had thrown it overboard, but we, who had had ocular proof of its identity, had found it tender, juicy, and well flavoured.

After leaving Navindi and his people, we continued our walk about the town, looking into different houses, at the invitation of the inmates, who always appeared glad to see us. We came at last upon an irregular square, on which stood a building, probably 100 feet long, the "strangers' house," still occupied by the Butoni, and we entered it by a door in the centre. The interior struck me at first as resembling the lower deck of a ship-of-war, there being a passage down the centre, and the families living in separate messes on either side, divided, however, from each other, in some cases, by partitions of coloured native cloth. We met the usual welcome from the people who happened to be there, and several of them followed our party out, through an opposite door to that by which we had entered, to a small level space between the back of the house and the hill, which rises somewhat abruptly behind. The first objects of interest to which our attention was called by these strangers, as if to vaunt the goodness of their reception in the capital, were four or five ovens, loosely filled in with stones, which had served to cook the human bodies presented to them after the payment of their tribute. They certainly did not understand the expressions of disgust which rose to our lips, for, leading us to a neighbouring tree,[1] they pointed to where, suspended from the branches, hung some scraps of flesh, the remains of the wretched creatures slaughtered to satisfy the monstrous appetite of their fellows, who had not even the miserable excuses of enmity or hunger to plead for their fiendish banquet.

I have often been surprised since, that we were invited to look at these objects, as we afterwards found in our intercourse with the Feejeeans and the black races generally, who are undoubtedly all addicted to cannibalism, that they were aware of our horror of the practice; and

[1] See Appendix A, Jackson's Narrative, p. 473, where the tree used for this purpose is called the "Akau-tabu."

although never denying its existence among their neighbours, they were always anxious either to change the subject of the conversation when it took that turn, or to give a kind of conventional denial, or assent to our expressions of reprobation of it, with respect to themselves. The wandering habits of the Butoni tribe, who had, in this instance, come to Bau for the first time during six or seven years, may, perhaps, account for their ignorance of our feelings on the subject, as there cannot be a doubt that, had they been aware of it, their natural politeness, at a time especially when the excitement had passed over, would have prompted them to conceal from us all signs of so distasteful a custom, even if the desire of standing well in the eyes of the powerful white strangers had not operated towards the same result.

We ascended the hill to look at a site for a house which Thakombau had at length accorded to Mr. Calvert within the precincts of the sacred city. It would have been a desirable one, had not the whole summit been made the deposit of all the ordure of the population, the only instance we had yet met with of any such place being exposed to view, and in this case arising from the unusually contracted space on which the town stands, and the inaccessible character of the beach. So naturally decent do these islanders, as well as the Malayo-Polynesians, seem to be in this particular, that never, except in this instance, have our senses either of sight or smell been offended in the smallest degree. Even in Bau the habits of the chiefs are as reserved as those of the most modest European nations, Navindi having a regular *retreat*, constructed on a wharf, running out into the sea. The inconveniences of a city were also not confined to this alone, as one dirty pool of fresh water served as the common bath to a people whose habits of personal cleanliness are most conspicuous. Another site has been offered to Mr. Calvert on a small island only a few yards from Bau; but it is considered of

importance to gain a footing in the city itself, a step which would certainly soon be followed by the conversion of the greater number of the inhabitants.

We came down on a corner of the square surrounding the great temple, where three or four large oxen, the property of Thakombau, were allowed to stroll at large. The temple itself contained few objects of interest. A cloth screen covered the sanctuary, and on the ground lay a few neck pillows and an elephant's tusk, which had been presented many years ago to Tanoa by the supercargo of a trader, and by him dedicated to the god. As whales' teeth are much valued, and constitute, in fact, a species of currency of indeterminate value, such a specimen of ivory was doubtless considered as beyond all price. The building stood on a raised platform, and was surrounded by a few trees of graceful foliage, under one of which lay the large wooden "lali," or sacred drum, beaten at festivals and sacrifices; and overshadowed by another was the place where the bodies of victims are dedicated to the "kalou," or evil spirit, previous to their being handed over to those who are to cook them for the banquet. The lower branches of this tree had evidently been lately cut away to the height of eight or ten feet from the ground; and we were told that this had been done after the reduction of Rewa, a few months before, when a mound of no fewer than eighty corpses, slain in battle, was heaped up on the spot.

The former Queen of Rewa, whose husband had been put to death during the war, was pointed out to us at a neighbouring house: she was a half-sister to Thakombau, and had escaped the usual death awarded to widows, in consequence of there being present no chief of higher rank than herself to perform the duty of strangulation, which cannot be executed in such a case by an inferior. This woman, now of middle age and very corpulent, bore marks nevertheless of the former beauty for which she was cele-

brated, and which may be judged of from the likeness introduced into Captain Wilkes's narrative. Evidence of the extraordinary bloodthirsty character of this people's institutions met us at every step. Having pointed out to Mr. Calvert, when on the hill, two blocks of stone which had been hewn into rude pillars by apparently an European workman, nearly overgrown with grass, be besought me earnestly to take no notice of them; adding afterwards, that they were intended for a monument or mausoleum to the memory of Tanoa's father; but that their erection, if ever it should take place, would most certainly be accompanied by the sacrifice of at least two human victims, it being considered necessary that in works of such a nature, or even in the construction of the house of a ruling chief, a man should be buried alive at the foot of each post, to ensure the stability of the edifice.[1]

It was now time to repair to our second feast at Thakombau's, which consisted of a pig, not baked in the native oven, but cut up and boiled in an iron pot, similar to those used in boiling the trepang. The broth, or greasy water, was first handed round in cocoa-nut shells, and required an effort to swallow; but the pork was excellent, and was served with yams in a very cleanly way on banana-leaves, as at Navindi's. The chief hinted that some rum, which he had been quick enough to notice in the barge among our men's provisions, would be an acceptable addition, but I discouraged him, saying, that with us, rum was reserved for the common people—an argument which silenced him, although he seemed hardly to believe it.

Observing us looking with great admiration at some beautifully carved spears which hung over our heads, and fearing perhaps that we should express a desire to possess them, Thakombau after dinner sent for one or two handsome clubs, the handles of which were decorated with

[1] See Appendix A, Jackson's Narrative, p. 464.

coloured plait, and presented them to Captain Jenner and myself—a compliment which we returned by inviting him to accompany us on the following day to the ship, which he readily accepted, promising to cross to Viwa early in the morning, where we were to take our departure in the barge. I extended the invitation to Navindi, who was awaiting us at the wharf with a present of a neck-pillow and several utensils of native crockery—articles which he had been told I was desirous of purchasing, but for which he would not accept any return. The former was a cylindrical piece of hard wood, two feet in length, like a common ruler, supported at each end by a double leg of five or six inches high, and is a necessary piece of furniture to preserve the symmetry of their carefully-dressed hair or head-dress. We had found pillows of the same description at both the Tongan and Samoan islands, but more resembling the head-rests (uls or ouols) of the Egyptians, the bar being made of either flat wood or bamboo, and gently curved, to receive the nape of the neck; but even with this difference, which the shorter hair of the people required, a pillow of the kind was anything but an easy one to an European head. The crockery, the manufacture of which is said to be limited to this group and New Caledonia, consisted of specimens of various shapes and sizes, from open-mouthed, nearly circular pots for cooking, capable of containing from two to ten gallons, to drinking-vessels so small as to appear intended for playthings for children. Some of the latter will contain more than a gallon of water, and the mode of using them is the same as practised in parts of Spain, &c., viz. allowing the liquid to fall in a stream into the mouth from the end aperture, the vessel being held at a considerable distance above the head. They are made of red pottery, glazed, it is said, with the gum of the "dammara" (here called dakau, and which seems a variety of the kauri of New Zealand), and ornamented with zigzag patterns round the

edges; the chief manufactory (that at least from which Bau is supplied) being in the Rewa territory, on the main land.[1]

After inspecting the foundation and commencement of a stone house, which had been begun by an American, who has since left the island, for Thakombau, nearly opposite to his present abode,—and a large empty building of 85 feet by 20, with a double stage all round the interior, for the purpose of drying the trepang, or, as it is termed in this sea, "biche de mer," erected by Navindi for the use of an American trader now absent,—we rejoined our boat, which had been ordered round from the wharf where we had first landed, to that adjoining the chief's house, and where we found our men carrying on a brisk traffic with the natives, principally for spears and other weapons. We returned for the night to Viwa, where our kind hostesses, as before, had neglected nothing which could conduce to our comfort.

15*th August*.—I received this morning a letter from a man named Charles Pickering, to whom allusion has been made before, as having been, some years ago, pursued to Lakemba by Thakombau, but protected by the white colonists of Levuka, and who is now residing at Viwa, complaining that different charges had been circulated in some of the colonial papers to his disadvantage, and wishing an opportunity of explanation, for, as he expressed himself, his own and the public's satisfaction. This man, who is a native of New South Wales, and has resided for several years in the Feejees, had been mentioned to me at Sydney as the perpetrator of many enormities; and a hint had even been given yesterday by Thakombau, that his deportation would be of great service to the islands, as ridding them of a dangerous character

[1] See Wilkes's Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition, for an account of the manufacture, which we had no opportunity of seeing: vol. iii. chap. x., p. 348.

who was constantly, for his own ends, stirring up enmity between the white residents and the natives. The former accusations, although probably founded on facts, were doubtless exaggerated from motives of jealousy, which often exist between traders, whose success depends on supplanting their rivals in the favour of the chief of the district which may furnish at the time some article of competition. I was also aware that Captain Worth, of the Calypso, who had preceded me here by a few months, had examined into these complaints, and decided that there were no grounds on which legal proceedings could be instituted against the man in question. The chief's representation was, however, a reasonable one; and I had intimated to him that, if he could substantiate any improper act on the part of Pickering, I should certainly comply with his request. There was no doubt of the man's bad reputation, as the white community of Levuka evidently shunned his society; and he was now, as if in bravado, living in an unseemly manner close to the mission premises, with about half a dozen native women as concubines. I believe he had been informed by some of the white men, that one of the objects of my coming here was to convey him to Sydney, and had asked for an interview for the sake of having the first word, being confident of the power of his plausibility. He came, accompanied by an American friend, apparently of some education, who acted as an adviser, and had written the letter to me for him, and was somewhat surprised at my declining to enter into questions which I considered as already settled; although I advised him to be prepared, if he desired to remain in the Feejees, to answer any charges which Thakombau might bring against him as a disturber of the peace. To his protestations of generally exemplary conduct, I adverted to his present mode of life as not merely thwarting the efforts of the missionaries, but opposed to the ordinary habits of Englishmen, and as such not likely to prejudice a visitor,

like myself, in his favour. The cool impudence of his reply was amusing: he acknowledged at once that his conduct was open to objection in this particular, although on all others his conscience was clear; he had, in fact, been gradually reducing the number of his women, and the comfort he felt since he had got rid of *a dozen or two* would, even without a higher motive, be sufficient to induce him to persevere in his good intentions.

This man's mode of life may be taken as a specimen of that generally led by whites among these islands before the coming of the missionaries. Believing themselves free from all the restraints of civilized life, they have, in many cases, helped, with the hope of advancing their own interests, to aggravate instead of to soften the vices of the islanders, who, beyond question, owe to the superiority of the weapons introduced by these men a great diminution of their numbers. The name of one, Charles Savage, a Swede by birth, who was wrecked in the American brig Eliza in 1808, and is said to have first taught the Feejeeans the use of fire-arms, is still spoken of with horror by his foes and admiration by his friends, who relate incredible tales of his warlike exploits. Attaching himself to Bau, which he raised to the pre-eminent position she now holds, he led her armies against her neighbours of the larger islands for several years; but having been at length defeated in March 1814, near Bua, in Viti Levu, by a party of natives, against whom, in conjunction with the master of an English trading-vessel, the Hunter, of Calcutta, he was carrying on a war for the sake of procuring a cargo of sandalwood for the ship, he was, together with fourteen of the crew, put to death and eaten, his body being treated with every mark of detestation, and his bones converted into sail needles and distributed among the people as a remembrance of the victory.[1]

[1] Discovery of the Fate of De la Pérouse, vol. i. chap. i., by Dillon, who was mate of the vessel.

A somewhat similar case occurred as late as in 1834, when the master of a French brig, l'Aimable Josephine, after assisting with a like object the chief of Viwa, in a war against Somo-Somo, during which he had even suffered the body of an enemy to be cooked and eaten on board, was, in consequence of a subsequent dispute with his ally, massacred at this very spot, with almost all his crew, and his vessel captured. This case has been before referred to in speaking of the (now Christian) chiefs of Viwa, Namose-malua, and his nephew Verani, who were the principal actors in the tragedy. In defence of the conduct of the latter, who had sailed on board of the Josephine, it is stated that he was threatened with death by his uncle, the work of strangulation being actually begun, unless he consented to betray the vessel into his hands. However treacherous and detestable the behaviour of the savages may have been in this affair, it is impossible to deny that it was altogether brought about by the gross misconduct of M. Bureau, the master of the brig; and it is to be regretted that M. d'Urville, who, in revenge for the outrage,[1] burned the village of Viwa in 1838, was not, as is admitted, in possession of all the facts of the case until some time afterwards, or he assuredly would not have taken any step which might lead the Feejeeans to suppose he sanctioned the conduct of Bureau, which he acknowledges to have been highly culpable.

It must be admitted that the vengeance which M. d'Urville thought it his duty to take for the honour of the French flag and the security of her commerce was, whether likely or not to be efficacious for these objects, executed with great humanity, being almost confined to the destruction of the houses of the savages, who, with even their pigs and poultry, had fled at the approach of the French invaders.[2]

[1] Voyage dans l'Océanie, vol. iv. p. 180.

[2] "Du reste, cette expédition n'a rapporté de Piva, comme trophées de la victoire, que fort peu d'objets d'industrie sauvage, déposés au Musée Mari-

The number of women maintained in imitation of the native chiefs by these white men must not, however, be considered as altogether intended for mere luxurious indulgence, as they have been generally purchased and employed as useful slaves. Even now it is by no means unusual for whites to purchase slave-women, for one of whom a musket is considered the ordinary price; and complaints were made to me by the missionaries, that even Christian women were sometimes thus bought by Englishmen, who, of course, considered themselves also entitled to all the rights of a husband. As there cannot be a doubt of the illegality of a traffic of this kind on the part of British subjects, it is much to be wished that some steps may be taken to put a stop to it, as well as to bring to punishment the many perpetrators of more violent offences against the natives of all the islands. The subjection under which British subjects residing among them are placed by act of parliament to the courts of New South Wales becomes nearly a dead letter when a lengthened and almost impracticable process is required to bring an accused person to trial, but might be most advantageously enforced in many cases, were naval officers furnished with the necessary authority for carrying out the law, and which might be so regulated as scarcely to admit of abuse.

Whilst sitting in Mr. Calvert's house awaiting the arrival of Thakombau and Navindi from Bau, the old chief of the island, Namose-malua, walked in to give a narration (the tuku-tuku) of a late journey he had made on missionary business to Ba and Ragi-Ragi, two districts on the western side of Viti-Levu, where a small native Christian community resides in a very savage neighbourhood. The chief, a tall raw-boned man, with

time. Nos hommes y ont rencontré peu de poules, encore elles ont fui à l'approche de nos gens; un cochon a été tué, et fera bon profit à l'équipage." — *Voyage dans l'Océanie*, vol. iv. p. 201.

one eye, told his story in a quiet but earnest tone, concluding, when all the events of the voyage, &c., which were of no particular interest, were narrated, by clapping his hands and calling out "dīnā!" (it is true), which Mr. Calvert repeated. I have noticed, with great satisfaction, the judgment shown by the missionaries here in retaining the usual habits of the people, when not militating against the great reform they hope to effect. Even in performing the church service, part of it is *chanted* in the same manner as their old songs used to be, a custom which not only makes the repetition of prayers easy and agreeable to Christians, but attracts occasional heathen visitors, who are always pleased to listen to the music, if such it can be called.

The chiefs having arrived from Bau, we proceeded to our boat, finding, to my surprise, Thakombau seated in the most friendly manner, on the side of a canoe hauled up on the beach, with Charles Pickering, who had taken the opportunity of the chief's being in a good humour to talk him over, and persuade him to take no further steps with me as to Pickering's removal. What arguments were made use of I do not know, but Thakombau begged Mr. Calvert to let me know that, Pickering having promised better behaviour in future, he wished me to consider the complaint made yesterday as withdrawn.

We retired from Viwa laden with presents of arms and articles of native manufacture, which the gentlemen of the mission and their wives insisted on our accepting. Mr. Lyth, whose best room I had occupied, presented me, besides other things, with two beautiful specimens of spears, carved in hollow spirals, and Mrs. Lyth's valuable shell-box was laid under contribution by several of our collectors. Mr. and Mrs. Calvert were no less liberal, the former giving me a rare specimen of a priest's sacred kava-bowl, carved in rude imitation of a duck, acquired from some recently christianized community, and pressing upon my

acceptance the model of a "bure" or temple of fine workmanship, which want of room obliged me to decline, but which Mr. Calvert afterwards presented to Lieut. Pollard, who transferred it to me.

A greater sacrifice on the part of Mr. Calvert was his consenting to accompany me to the ship to act as interpreter with the chiefs, as his doing so would entail on him a great increase of labour on his return. He is at present engaged in a translation of the Scriptures and some other religious works, which it is desirable should be completed before a given period, and this work must be carried on in the midst of constant interruptions, to which the members of this mission and their families are liable at all hours of the day. Besides being referred to in cases of quarrels and disputes, the care of the sick and the distribution of medicines are duties which they have undertaken, and carry out with unremitting attention. Mr. Lyth, who had been educated for the medical profession, has a very extensive gratuitous practice, being apparently often consulted from motives of curiosity or superstition. The superintendence of the printing-press, which has been in operation for a year or two, and from whence, among other works, a grammar and dictionary of the Feejeean language, by the Rev. Mr. Hazlewood, are expected shortly to issue, falls also upon the resident missionaries of Viwa, the printing being at present performed by Mr. Rees, a young Englishman, who, having accidentally found his way, like many of his countrymen, to these islands, had settled to steadier habits.

There being very little wind, our row up to the ship at Levuka, upwards of twenty miles, was a tedious one, owing in great measure to the boat being encumbered with spears, clubs, pottery, and different curiosities. Thakombau looked very dignified, seated in the stern-sheets, his head decorated with a new turban of smoke-coloured gauze, beneath which projected a long pin of tortoise-shell,

resembling a netting-needle, a necessary instrument for scratching the head, which no finger-nails could be long enough to reach. He conversed constantly, but without garrulity, with Mr. Calvert, taking much notice of, and caressing, the latter's son, a boy of nine or ten years of age, who accompanied his father, and seemed to be perfectly at ease with this extraordinary being, a knowledge of whose character and habits would have thrown most English children into a paroxysm of terror. Navindi, although trying to appear at ease, evidently held the chief in great respect; and I remarked that, on being accidentally placed next to him, he almost immediately, under the pretext of employing or making himself useful, moved to the strokesman's thwart, and joined one of them in pulling an oar.

On one occasion the conversation took a curious turn. Thakombau, whose manners are extremely polite when in good humour, seeing probably that he engrossed too much of the discourse, asked Mr. Calvert if we, the strangers, understood what passed between them. The opportunity for reading him a lecture was not lost by the latter, who replied that it could not be expected that we, who had lately come to Feejee for the first time, should understand their language; but, he was sorry to say, the Captain had learned sufficient to comprehend the meaning of that unseemly interruption to his speech yesterday, in which the chief had endeavoured to excuse, on the plea of absence of other animal food, the disgusting practice of eating their fellow-men. The chief was for a moment in great confusion, but soon recovered himself, and begged Mr. Calvert to explain to me that such was not the purport of his interruption, which had been misunderstood; but he had intended to say that, although the custom of eating men instead of beef was that of their fathers, they, who now knew better, had determined wholly to renounce it.

This ready appreciation of our horror of cannibalism, and the evidently increasing influence of the mission, affords, it is to be hoped, a confident expectation that a habit so unnatural, and a bar, as long as it prevails, to all improvement, will pass away from among this people as rapidly and completely as it has already done in New Zealand.

After we had dined, the chiefs, observing some pistols in the boat, and always pleased to see the practice of arms of any description, proposed firing at a mark to pass the time. Having thrown overboard some of our empty bottles for the purpose, I had much to do to save my specimens of Feejeean pottery from Navindi, who could not understand why we should throw away articles which appeared to him of great value, when such common utensils as those he had given to me were at hand. Despite of our efforts to keep ourselves awake, we were all heartily tired before we reached the ship at eleven o'clock. Our Feejeean friends were astonished at her size, the effect of which was increased by the starlight, and on mounting the side seemed for a moment to lose their self-possession, crouching under the bulwark, apparently afraid to advance further. Having been informed, in answer to their anxious inquiries, that every person in the ship had been ordered to treat them as friends, they became re-assured, and descended to the cabin, where mats were prepared for their beds, and a space screened in for their occupation. Their curiosity getting the better of their fears, they proceeded on a cruize about the main deck before repairing to their mats, whence I heard them at intervals during the night discussing the wonders they had seen, and no doubt speculating on what was forthcoming on the morrow.

16*th August.*—Captain Jenner, who slept in one of the side cabins, was awoke this morning by the awful-looking visage of Thakombau, who had begun early to gratify his

curiosity by exploring all the corners of the ship, gazing intently upon him as he lay in his cot. Some of the officers' pea-jackets, which had been inadvertently handed from the barge into my cabin, had afforded him and Navindi the opportunity of appearing in what they evidently considered full dress, although the heat of the morning caused them to look very uncomfortable, and, soon after breakfast, to lay their adopted clothing aside.

In the forenoon we went to quarters, having previously laid out a target (a hammock, with the figure of a man painted on it) against the face of a conspicuous rock on the beach, at a distance from the ship of 800 yards. Thakombau was evidently in great anxiety until the firing began, although he tried to conceal it; and when he saw the smallness of the target, expressed some incredulity as to the possibility of our striking such a mark. I furnished him with a spy-glass, and placed him on the bowsprit, where he was not incommoded by the smoke, Navindi, Tui Levuka, and one or two of the latter's followers being also present. Either the first or second shot struck the figure on the head, and, our men being in beautiful practice, scarcely one missed the rock, and a very few rounds were sufficient to knock the target to pieces, which was replaced by one or two others in quick succession. Even the short time necessary for this was too much for Thakombau's impatience, who had now worked himself up into a state of high excitement, and he begged us not to wait, pointing out, first, a man on the beach, and afterwards a canoe with several persons in her, as more worthy our expenditure of ammunition than the inanimate objects we had chosen, evidently considering that his permission would be quite sufficient to satisfy our consciences, and surprised at our scruples. One or two shells, which burst with great precision, concluded the exhibition, which had greatly astonished all the chiefs. Thakombau, approaching Mr. Calvert, said, "This indeed makes me tremble;

I feel no longer secure. Should I offend these people, they have but to bring their ship to Bau, where, having found me out with their long spy-glasses, my head would fall at the first shot!" Notwithstanding these professed fears, he was most pressing in his entreaties that I would take the ship to Bau, being desirous doubtless of exhibiting his powerful allies to his formidable neighbours of Viti Levu, and often repeating, as he had done to Captain Wilkes, that Bau was the place for gentlemen, the people of Ovolau being all "kaisis," or slaves. Whether he intended to include our friend Tui Levuka in this condemnation I cannot say, but I was a good deal amused by the condescending manner of his accosting him. The latter, who had not met Thakombau for some time, and was apparently very anxious to be noticed by him, stood for at least half an hour close to his superior, who did not by word or gesture exhibit the slightest sign of recognition. At last, some better shot than usual, called forth, apparently addressed to Tui Levuka, an exclamation of "Vinaka, vinaka!" (good, good), when, the conversation being begun, it was taken up by the other, the two chiefs seeming to be afterwards the most cordial of friends.

At the request of Thakombau I took him on shore to the rock, against which our target had been placed, to examine the effects of the shot. Large fragments had been knocked off, and were lying on the beach, some of the shot having been broken in pieces, and others, which we dug out, having buried themselves for several feet into the earth, which filled the fissures. He inspected these with a "chuck, chuck" of astonishment, which was increased by an old man bringing, a few hours later, a 68-pound shot, which, having glanced along the top of the rock, had fallen into the ditch of the "kolo," or native village, about a mile distant by the beach, where he had been employed in digging his taro. The old fellow made no complaint, although he must have narrowly escaped with his life, and I was happy to hear that the shot in

question was the only one that had reached any inhabited part of the island.

On our return to the ship I was accosted by Simpson, our pilot, who, with some little alarm, repeated a conversation he had overheard between Navindi and Tui Levuka. It has been mentioned before, that the mountaineers (or tribe of Livoni) of Ovolau were at war with the people of Tui Levuka, who, together with the white community, occupy the sea-coast and lands adjacent. As this state of affairs operated very much against the interests of the whites, who were deterred, as long as they continued subject to plundering inroads, from even constructing permanent houses, I had begged Thakombau to exert himself to put a stop to hostilities, which he had readily promised to do. If Simpson had understood his agent Navindi correctly, he was proceeding to effect this desirable consummation in a manner which I could not sanction, and one which was not likely to conciliate the Livoni in favour of our countrymen; Tui Levuka having been instructed to despatch a messenger to the chief of the mountaineers, expressing my desire to confer with him, when on his arrival he was to be clubbed to death on the beach. Thakombau, on my remonstrating warmly with him against such a piece of treachery, which would be laid to my account, but which I would by no means permit, denied that he had any such intention, and persisted so firmly in his denial that Mr. Calvert thought Simpson must have been mistaken. The scheme, however, as calculated to rid himself of a dangerous enemy at the risk of very little odium, the greater part of which would, of course, fall on me or my countrymen, seemed to be so consonant to all accounts of Feejeean policy, that I was not quite convinced of the fairness of the chief's intentions, and was as well pleased when I heard that the mountaineer had, under some pretence or another, declined to accept the invitation.

At dinner-time the chiefs seemed to have lost their appetites, which was explained by the fact of their

having already dined in both the gunroom and midshipmen's berth, feeling, as they told some of the officers, more at their ease among the young people than at the chief's table. They, however, behaved very well, affecting to praise our cookery and style of living, and we afterwards made them several presents in return for those received at Bau. Thakombau seemed somewhat disappointed that I had no arms or ammunition to supply him with; but ample amends were made by Captain Jenner's gift of a laced scarlet coat and epaulettes, the full uniform of an officer of the Guards, which exceeded in magnificence anything he had ever seen before, and was put on with great satisfaction. Navindi was gratified at the same time with a scarlet hunting-coat; and Tui Levuka, who had made great friends with all the officers, especially with the midshipmen, and had received from them many articles of clothing, had also a present of a few trifles allotted to him.

I had great difficulty in the evening in inducing Thakombau to get up a dance on deck among the people of Levuka, with whose qualifications he was not well acquainted, and who, he declared, would give us a very indifferent notion of Feejeean dancing, which, according to him, could be seen in perfection only in Bau, adding that it would be an easier thing for him to put a man to death for our amusement than to teach him to dance. He took the opportunity of renewing his entreaties to me to take the ship thither—a course which he assumed or affected to believe I had been dissuaded from by Mr. Calvert, to whom he said, sulkily—alluding to the reverend gentleman's desire to be allowed a residence in the city—that he now saw little probability of his (Mr. Calvert) gaining his point, although his son David might succeed, if he lived long enough. Mr. Calvert, who thoroughly understands the Feejeean character, replied, in the same ironical tone, that even that period would probably be too early a one,

and that the admission of the missionaries into Bau had perhaps better be delayed until the sons of David and "Schooner" (the cant name for Thakombau's heir) should be old enough to settle the matter. He completely put the chief to shame, by adding that the desire of the captain of the ship to lower him in the estimation of his people had been well evinced that day, by the quantity of powder and shot expended in his honour and for his amusement. It was evident, in spite of this little outbreak, that, although not a professing Christian, the chief paid the greatest deference to the opinions of Mr. Calvert, whom he consulted on all occasions, and that the influence of the latter had been acquired by the most upright and judicious conduct on his part. Without giving in for a moment to any of the chief's improper or unreasonable desires, or attempting to flatter his vanity, he seemed, on the contrary, to lose no opportunity of administering a reproof or expressing disapprobation when any occasion occurred to call for it, treating the chief at the same time with the respect due to his station, and affording him no pretext for an accusation of arrogance or undue interference. I remarked, with great pleasure, that, in addressing Thakombau, Mr. Calvert always made use of the term "Sa," or "Saka" (Sir), a piece of courtesy as creditable to him as a gentleman and minister of religion to pay, as satisfactory to the chief to receive. The ultimate success of such a course of policy, if pursued by all the members of the mission towards a race attached to their chiefs and fond of ceremonious politeness, and at the same time of a strong and discriminating intellect, seems certain, and must effect a great improvement, in the course of a very few years, on the habits and civilization of this people.

By way of making amends for his ill humour, Thakombau, with the assistance of Tui Levuka, who summoned his people from various parts of the ship, organized at last a dance on the quarter-deck. They stood up in two rows, to the

number of about twenty, Thakombau himself beating time with a short stick on a kind of drum or instrument hastily constructed of bamboo, and began a low chant, moving their bodies to and fro in unison, with quiet gestures of the hands and arms. Even Mr. Calvert and the interpreter did not know the words of the chant, which became occasionally louder and more animated as it proceeded, and terminated suddenly in a loud shout and general clap of the hands. The chief seemed inclined to bring the performance soon to a close, insisting that these people, among whom were none of the chiefs, had had no practice, and he was probably unwilling to show us their favourite dances; although Mr. Hannant told me that, during our absence at Bau, Tui Levuka had, at his request, exhibited even the *death* dance—that, namely, performed when bearing the bodies of their enemies to be offered up at the temple of the "Kalou," previous to their being cooked and eaten.

17*th August*.—The weather was beautifully clear this morning, the trade-wind, which had been interrupted for some days by calms and light northerly airs, having set in again. We were enabled, accordingly, to see the picturesque steeple-shaped peaks of Ovolau to great advantage; one of the most remarkable, called by Captain Wilkes "Andulong," but which the natives did not recognize under that name, being estimated by him at 2070 feet in height.

The hills are thickly wooded, with here and there a bare spot, on which, very high up, some of the houses of the Livoni might be distinguished, and occasionally an individual or two seen, by the help of a spy-glass, moving about.

Our warlike display was continued this morning (the opportunity being favourable for exercising our men) by the landing of all our small-arm men and field-pieces (which drew a great concourse of people), and the firing of a 24-pounder shell-rocket from the beach over an adjacent hill into the forest. As might be expected, the latter, from its great length of flight, and the simplicity of the appa-

ratus, appeared to the chiefs the most powerful and astonishing of all our arms, and Thakombau was very desirous that I should try another, in the direction of his enemies the Livoni, to prove to them that they were within our reach —a demonstration which I of course declined to make.

The chief, who, with Navindi, had accompanied me on shore in the gig, was received on his landing by several crouching natives, bringing him offerings of fish and other articles of food; and a group also attended his re-embarkation, one of whom he told Navindi, after we had shoved off, to despatch as a messenger to Tui Levuka, desiring his attendance on board.

We found the chief's canoe, one of moderate dimensions, alongside of the ship, and learnt that she had just arrived from Mokungai, or one of the small islands in the neighbourhood, whither she had been ordered for a supply of pigs, which I had requested Thakombau to procure for our ship's company. Several large hogs, sufficient for two days' consumption of the whole crew, were handed up the side, the finest of the cargo being reserved for the chief's own use during the passage to Bau, the cooking of which had been already begun on a kind of fire-hearth of stones and sand, constructed on the deck of the canoe. Thakombau had apparently considered my request for supplies as a demand, and was surprised when desired to name his price. Although he would have preferred anything to money, I insisted upon paying him in dollars, wishing, by giving him a proper notion of their value, to facilitate the procuration of supplies by ships-of-war, which cannot always be furnished with articles for barter. Of these he received twenty-five (being payment at a fair rate of about twopence a pound for his pigs), enclosed in a showy embroidered scrip, which he carelessly transferred to Navindi, as purse-bearer.

A Viwa canoe having also arrived, in which Mr. Calvert was to return home, I had, previous to his setting out,

another long and earnest conversation, in his presence and through his interpretation, with Thakombau and Navindi on the subject of the approaching visit of the Somo-Somo people to Bau, and of the disgusting habit of cannibalism generally. No denial of the practice was attempted in this instance, and Thakombau concluded by making me a promise (which it will be afterwards seen he performed) that when the anticipated visit should take place, no human bodies should be sought for, nor sacrifices made at Bau. It seemed to me then, and I have since had reason to believe correctly, that for the first time the chief began to suspect that the horror shown by the missionaries to their barbarous customs was not a mere religious fancy on their part, but a feeling entertained by the best class of white men, even when, like ourselves, employed in warlike pursuits. That his mind was beginning to comprehend the first principles of Christian benevolence was evident in a subsequent visit of Lieutenant Pollard, in H.M. schooner Bramble, during the very period looked forward to with such anxiety (the tribute-paying of Somo-Somo); when, after urgent remonstrances on the part of that energetic and judicious officer against the strangling of a deceased chief's wives, which his interference in one case prevented, Thakombau put the interesting question to Mr. Calvert, "How is it that all the white chiefs[1] who come here ask something for the Feejeeans, and nothing for themselves?" We shall have indeed reason to congratulate ourselves if so easy an exercise of common humanity shall have the effect of aiding the exertions of these pious men, who, at great personal risk and self-denial of no ordinary kind, are labouring for the improvement of an intelligent people, hitherto, from inscrutable causes, existing in a state of almost incomprehensible barbarism.

As I had been informed that a mission station at Nandi, or Vanua-Levu, under the charge of the Rev. Mr. Hazle-

[1] Turangas.

wood, had been threatened a few months since with an attack from a neighbouring chief, residing at the village of So-Levu, at the distance of only a day's march, I acquainted Thakombau that one of my reasons for quitting the neighbourhood of his capital so soon, was the protection of my countrymen in that direction, whom I could by no means permit to be ill-treated as long as their behaviour was peaceable and orderly. He assured me, however, that I need not be under any apprehension after my departure, asto the security of the missionaries either at Nandi or Bua, another district of Vanua-Levu, as both were tributary to Bau, and he would take care that no molestation of the Christians should take place without ample punishment. Such an assurance was, no doubt, desirable, but I still considered that a visit from a ship-of-war would have no bad effect, and did not alter my determination of sailing on the following day for Nandi.

After Mr. Calvert's departure I became anxious to get rid of my visitors, who seemed by no means disposed to leave me at leisure. It was intimated to them accordingly by Simpson, whom I had engaged to accompany us as pilot to Nandi and Bua, that, as I was going on shore to look at some timber which our people were employed in felling (having been bought by Mr. Hannant from Tui Levuka), I was desirous of wishing them farewell. A parting request for a bottle of brandy was delicately hinted on the part of Navindi, which I granted on condition of its not being opened on board, where they had already been fully entertained; and we took leave, with many mutual professions of friendship.

On my return to the ship, an hour or two afterwards, I was, therefore, not a little surprised at the scene which presented itself on entering the cabin. On an arm-chair, with his naked feet resting on another, sat Thakombau, in the guardsman's coat, his turban, which had now been worn for three days without change, dirty and disordered,

whilst a self-satisfied leer on his bold features proclaimed that the brandy-bottle, which stood uncorked on the table, had been too great a temptation to withstand. On the deck at his feet sat, each with tumbler in hand, his boon companions Navindi and Tui Levuka, in the finest clothes they had acquired on board; the group irresistibly reminding one of that described in 'Rob Roy' as encountered by Mr. Osbaldistone and Baillie Jarvie at the clachan of Aberfoil. I pretended to take no notice of the party, which probably hastened their departure in rather an unceremonious manner, Navindi, after corking up the remainder of the brandy, following Thakombau over the quarter of the ship into his canoe, where, seated in a chair (the only one he possesses, and tabued for his use), we saw the chief, after they had shoved off, still dressed in uniform, employed in attending the sheet, a duty always performed by the principal personage on board, but which I should have hardly thought him in a fit state to undertake.

Mr. Hannant, who had become a great friend of Tui Levuka's, told me afterwards that the latter, in spite of the apparent cordiality existing between him and Thakombau, was very much pleased when the chief took his departure; and it was even said that he had carried a double-barrelled pistol under his shirt during the day, for what purpose could not be discovered. It is not easy for Europeans to comprehend the different motives which actuate men in so peculiar a state of barbarism as these; but it is probable that Tui Levuka, although acknowledging a degree of dependence on the chief of Bau, was not disposed to submit to any ebullition of temper which some apprehended jealousy on the part of Thakombau, of our favour and liberality, might occasion, and which the supply of spirits, which was sure by some means or another to be procured on board, and to the use of which this race seems much more inclined than the Malayo-Polynesians, might aggravate or hasten.

There exists a carefully-defined, and (by the Feejeeans themselves) well-understood system of polity, which dictates the position the different districts stand in with respect to each other, as well as the degree of submission each dependant owes to his principal. The term "bati" expresses apparently a kind of alliance (generally, however, tributary on one side) existing between the principal tribes or states; whilst that of "gali" implies a greater degree of servitude, which independent or partly tributary states exact from others, their inferiors. The lowest condition of all, the consequence of some late total defeat or conquest, is absolute slavery, the districts where such a state exists being called "Vanua Kaisis," or slave-lands.

Captain Wilkes gives the names of what he considered the seven ruling districts among the Feejees, in 1840, as below:—1st, Ambau (or Bau); 2nd, Rewa; 3rd, Verata; 4th, Muthuata; 5th, Somo-Somo; 6th, Naitasiri; 7th, Mbua (or Bua).

It is probable, however, that states occasionally acquire or lose this position by war; and it would also appear that no state can properly be considered entirely independent of another, with the remarkable exception of Bau, to which even the powerful districts of Rewa (now, in 1849, completely subjugated), on the large island of Viti Levu, and Somo-Somo, in Vuna, or Tabeune, reputed the most warlike and arrogant of all, have for a long time acknowledged subjection.

That this sometimes arose from a superstitious motive is evident from the cause assigned for the subjection of the latter, viz., the will of a kalou, or spirit, who, having been, when in distress, under the form of a rat, refused admittance into a Somo-Somo canoe, but sheltered by one belonging to Bau, decreed the relative position which the two states have since occupied, as a punishment and reward. It is certain, at all events, that states, bati to

others, may hold galis under their immediate authority; and this is at present the case with respect to Levuka, which district, bati to Bau, reckons among her own galis most of the other towns and districts of Ovolau, in which number, however, the Livoni, or mountaineers, have never allowed themselves to be included.

There is apparently some defect in the title of Tui Levuka to the dignity of a reigning chief, which Captain Wilkes attributes to the refusal of Verata, from which island Ovolau was wrested by Bau, to perform the necessary initiatory rites, the chiefs of the latter declining to do so, on account of religious dread and the fear of offending the gods.

M. d'Urville states that, in 1838, the honorary title of Tui Levuka was borne by Tui Neau, the nephew of Tanoa and the King of Lakemba; the ruling chief being called Tele-Bouka; and it is remarkable that two of our officers who had constant intercourse with the chief wrote his name, as pronounced by himself, Tila-booka, although I did not know it at the time. This digression is necessary, to give some notion of the relative ranks of these chiefs and their tribes: the more minute points of difference will be better understood or inferred after the perusal of Jackson's memoirs, in the Appendix.[1]

A singular privilege, often attached to sons of the female members of a reigning family, even when married to chiefs of inferior and dependent states, ought not to be passed without mention. A son of such a marriage is, in these cases, supposed to stand in the relation of nephew (vasu) to all the members of his mother's tribe, and has, as such, the right to levy contributions on them, of almost any description, even the most powerful chief being obliged to submit to the exaction. Captain Wilkes gives an amusing instance of an occurrence of the kind in the person

[1] Jackson states that Ovolau was only a "gali" to Bau in 1841; but, I think, Tui Levuka considered himself in a higher position at the time of our visit.

of Tanoa, who, having been already deprived of a watch by Thakonauto, a well-known chief of Rewa, was endeavouring to save from his rapacity a patent rifle, a present from Captain Wilkes to the all-powerful chief of Bau, to which state Thakonauto was a vasu.

It will be seen that the process is so well understood as to be mentioned by Jackson as "vasuing" the property of members of another tribe, whose submission to so oppressive an exaction, when in the condition of superiors, shows an extraordinary attachment in a savage people to old laws and customs.

During my walk on shore I had visited the fortified village, or kolo, of Levuka, about a mile distant from our landing-place, but within a few hundred yards of the beach. It consists of a considerable number of huts, huddled together without regularity, and inclosed by a mound of earth three feet in height, which is surmounted by a reed fence; the whole being surrounded by a narrow and shallow ditch, serving both as a defence and a garden for taro, a plant requiring a damp situation. The ditch, as at Lakemba, is crossed on the trunk of a cocoanut tree, thrown across it as a drawbridge; and the mound is entered by a low gate, which can be hastily barricaded with timber. The huts are small, thatched both on the roof and sides with reeds, and very dirty, containing sometimes a hole for cooking, the smoke from which makes the interior almost intolerable.

Mr. Knapp saw in the village the grave of a child, buried about two months since, which he described as a diminutive house, about two feet long, and of a corresponding height, with doors and windows complete, formed of coloured native cloth, and resting on a foundation of white coral and stones; and another of our officers was shown an oven, in which, he was informed, the body of a man had been cooked within the last month, probably at the time of the Butoni visit.

The village was tenanted almost entirely by women and children, the presence of the ship having attracted the greater number of the men to the adjacent beach, where also Tui Levuka was said to have stationed an armed guard to protect our watering-party from any rush which the mountaineers might meditate. The married women wore their hair in a variety of shapes, often in the mop-headed fashion of the men; in some instances sprinkled with dust or lime, resembling hair powder, and often stained various hues of yellow. Many carried their children on their backs, their little legs stretched out in an extraordinary degree to maintain their hold, their own bodies being generally covered with marks of scars, inflicted at different times, in sign of mourning for the death of relatives. The virgins, many of whom were beautifully formed and modest looking, might be distinguished by the crown of the head being cropped close, the hair over the forehead and ears being allowed to fall in small twisted ringlets. All were scantily clothed, generally in a petticoat of the fibres of the hibiscus, reaching to the knees, the use of cloth being denied to women; but several of the younger ones had only a narrow fringe. They seemed universally good-humoured and merry; and at another

Woman of Feejee, wife of a white man.

village Mr. Knapp induced three of them to execute a dance, which, he said, they did with some reluctance, evidently in no slight degree embarrassed with shame when the movements they were called on to perform were of a lascivious nature. These movements were principally jumping half round from side to side, in admirable time, the arms akimbo, and the hands on the hips, the old women clapping their hands and singing in a dull and monotonous tone. I looked into the white men's temporary village in passing, but found none of them at home. Several of their wives, dressed decently in long cotton garments, seemed glad to see us. Besides Feejeeans, there are one or two women among them from Samoa, who were easily distinguishable from their lighter hue; but none of us were much struck with the beauty of the half-caste children.

Mr. Hannant had brought from Tui Levuka a large tree of the Calophyllum inophyllum, called here "delo," or "andelo;" and we went to see our men cutting it down. It was so large that the work was not completed when we sailed, and we were obliged to content ourselves with one limb, which squared twenty inches. It was afterwards sawn up into inch boards, and many articles, both useful and ornamental, made from them, the grain being more variegated and the wood harder than mahogany. As this timber abounds at all the islands, from Tahiti to New Caledonia, it may hereafter become valuable both for shipbuilding and domestic purposes.

Mr. Knapp, and Mr. Rowe, a young clerk's assistant, to whom Tui Levuka had taken a great fancy, came off from the shore this evening in the chief's own canoe, conducted by himself. He first made a stretch out to the reef, then tacked and fetched the vessel. The chief had made every arrangement for the safety of his passengers, two stout fellows being stationed to look after Mr. Knapp in the event of the canoe's capsizing; Mr. Rowe being under his own particular care.

The canoe was a small one of the ordinary construction, with an outrigger, &c., and was put about by shifting the tack of the sail to the opposite extremity, as described among the Tongans.

Tui Levuka continues a great favourite with every one on board, and is undoubtedly a man of very amiable disposition. During my absence at Bau, he on one occasion brought on board, and delivered up to Mr. Hannant, a native lad whom he had detected in stealing some trifling article belonging to one of our people. Several of the white residents, one in particular, named Captain Rogers, seemed very anxious to persuade our officers that if the lad, who was a miserable-looking cripple, were not punished, Tui Levuka would take his life. After having been confined in irons, sobbing and trembling, for some hours, a caning was administered by a boatswain's mate, in the presence of the chief. At the third or fourth stroke of the cane the chief touched Mr. Hannant's arm, and begged that the punishment might cease; and the scene concluded by a kick, administered by Tui Levuka to the culprit, who sprang, overjoyed, into his canoe.

Before taking leave this evening, the chief was very pressing with several of his most intimate friends—Mr. Knapp, Lieutenant Pym of the Marines, and Mr. Rowe—to remain and settle in Feejee under his protection. The gallant lieutenant was intended to act as chief of the fighting-men; and on his asking how many wives were to be allotted to him, Tui Levuka answered at once, "I will give you six; or, if a very strong man, you shall have ten!!" The first-mentioned number is that of the chief's own wives at present, five of whom are in an interesting condition.

18*th August*.—Having engaged Simpson as pilot for Nandi and Bua Bays, the two missionary stations on Vanua-Levu, we weighed this morning at eight o'clock, the wind being easterly, but gradually drawing to the S.E.,

and the weather again thick and drizzly, although sufficiently clear to enable us to see our way through the reef passages.

The anchorage we had occupied lies at about the centre of the island of Ovolau, which is eight miles long by six broad, and consists merely of the channel between the shore and the surrounding reef, by which it is sheltered from the eastward. The wreck of an English brig on the beach, which had parted from her anchors during a hurricane a year or two before, showed that these occasionally blow with violence; although, as their greatest force is said to be from the N.W., and there is no possibility of a heavy sea getting up, it is probable that a deficiency in ground-tackle was the cause of the disaster. A son of Mr. David Whippy, by a native wife, was said to have had a narrow escape for his life on the occasion. Having been blown to sea out of the passage in one of the vessel's boats, and drifted about at the mercy of the storm for several days, he was at last cast on shore near a village of Vanua-Levu. Knowing that by the sanguinary laws of Feejee the penalty of escape from shipwreck is death and conversion into food, he exerted himself to make it appear that he was but a casual traveller requiring hospitality. The hungry villagers, however, soon detected the fatal signs of what they term "salt-water in the eyes," and his immolation would have immediately followed, had not he been providentially recognized by a chief present, who was under an obligation to his father. At some risk to himself, this man effected the saving of the lad's life, and he was ultimately restored to his parents, who had long since abandoned all hopes of seeing him again. The young man was described to us as an admirable specimen of a half-breed—possessing all the mental qualifications of a well-brought-up white man, with the skill and bodily activity of the Feejeean; and I regretted I had not an opportunity of making his acquaintance.

The point of Levuka, which bore from the ship S. by

W., was placed by Mr. Hilliard in lat. 17° 39' S., long. 178° 46' 30" E.

Two streams of good water run into the harbour, and, as vegetables and wood may be procured here in abundance, the port offers great advantages as a station for steamers, when, as will probably soon be the case, a communication shall be opened between the Isthmus of Panama and our Australian colonies.[1]

We sailed out of a reef passage somewhat wider than the one we had entered by, but which, from its being situated further to the northward, is a little to leeward of the anchorage, and therefore better suited for leaving the port, and steered to the northward for the island of Mokungai, about fifteen miles distant, between which and the smaller island of Ovalu, or Passage Island, is situated the Mokungai passage through the great western reef. At noon, having passed through it, which can be done by the eye, Mokungai bore S. 35° E.; Ovalu (which must not be confounded with Ovolau) S. 30° W.; and Nemena, or the Direction Island of Wilkes, N. 42° E.; the reef, with the exception of a few openings, being continuous outside of us, in a N.N.W. direction, as far as Buia Point, the S.W. point of Vanua-Levu.

Twenty miles more of a N. course took us up to one of two or three passages to the westward of Nemena. In the one we took, which lies a little to the westward of that marked on Captain Wilkes's chart the "Buia Passage," we had from twelve to sixteen fathoms, and we then ran about twelve miles further for the entrance to Nandi Bay, off which we anchored at 3. 45 P.M., in eighteen fathoms, Nandi village bearing N.W. by W., Kombelau Point E.N.E., and Buia Point S.W. by S.

[1] Lieut. Pollard watered the 'Bramble' in 1850, by running a warp on shore and hauling off the boats, the schooner lying in 9½ fathoms, with the following bearings:—Village, W.S.W.; south extreme of Ovolau, S. by E. ½ E.; north extreme of Ovolau, N.N.W. ¾ W.; Ambatiki, E.; Wakaia, N.E. by E. ½ E.; off shore, 40 to 50 fathoms.

There appeared to be good anchorage further up the bay in nine and ten fathoms, but the one we had taken up was more convenient for getting under way, and, being entirely protected by reefs, seemed quite secure.

The missionary of the station, the Rev. David Hazlewood, soon came off in a whale-boat, bringing with him one or two Christian chiefs, who, as usual, expressed great pleasure at seeing us. I was glad to hear from Mr. Hazlewood that all was now quiet at his station, and that a disturbance which had taken place in April last, a report of which had induced me to come to Nandi, had passed over without leaving any fear of a recurrence. It appeared that the usual offering of the first fruits of their yams, &c., which the people of the village had been accustomed to make to the temple at the neighbouring town of So-Levu, had been discontinued on religious grounds, since the adoption of Christianity; and as this offering formed an important part of the priest's revenue, an attempt had been made to enforce it, an armed party under a chief named Buniwanga having advanced and encamped within a quarter of a mile of the Christian village. It is remarkable, as showing the respect with which the missionaries are regarded even by the heathen, or the fear which they entertain of the wrath of the white man's Deity, that when Mr. Hazlewood, whom they must have considered the instigator of the refusal, went out, accompanied by a single Tongan teacher, to expostulate with the besiegers, he was told to return and sit quietly in his house, that no hurt should come to him; but that, when the village should be burned down and destroyed, they would take him away, that he might be *their* priest! The Christian party, however, who had learned the advantage of union, were not disposed to submit to such dictation, but, on the return of Mr. Hazlewood, barricaded themselves in the mission premises, and prepared for a vigorous defence—a determination so unusual in Feejeean warfare,

when, as in this case, a decided superiority of numbers lay with the besiegers, that, after a short deliberation among themselves, the latter broke up their camp, and, discharging their muskets in the sight of the besieged in token of abandoning the enterprise, retired to their own town. They had continued since on friendly terms; but as I considered that a lecture, when accompanied by a show of our imposing force, would have a good effect in exhibiting the increasing importance of the Christian party, I offered to take Mr. Hazlewood and some of the chiefs, his friends, along the coast to So-Levu on Monday, to open a friendly communication with the people of that town, but caution them against any forays in which the persons or property of British subjects might be endangered—a proposal which was at once accepted.

Sunday, 19th August.—The weather continued thick and rainy, so that the country was seen but little, and that to a disadvantage. After our church-service on board, I went, by appointment, accompanied by Dr. Turnbull, to attend Mr. Hazlewood's chapel, where we found a congregation of about a hundred, assembled in a respectable building adjoining the mission-house, which was a small but comfortable wooden residence, where the worthy missionary, who has lately had the misfortune to lose his wife, passes a solitary but to the natives highly useful life, occupying himself, besides the other duties of his mission, with the compilation of a grammar and dictionary of the Feejeean language.

The congregation, of about equal numbers of both sexes, was very devout, and joined in the prayers of the English church-service with great fervour, their praying posture being their own one of respect, kneeling, but on all fours, with the hands on the ground. Some parts of the service, such as the "Te Deum," were chanted in the regular Feejeean manner, a most judicious arrangement, not only as assimilating the worship to their old customs, but as

attracting many heathen listeners, who, standing outside of the door, seemed, with respect and attention, to enjoy the music going on within. After service I made friends with many of the congregation, a wild-looking set of people enough, scantily clothed, although here and there a garment was seen better calculated for the purposes of decency than the small scrap of cloth usually worn. Their open confident manner towards us, however, which we have invariably found among all connected with the mission, was sufficient to distinguish them from their more barbarous neighbours, with whose politeness some little feeling of distrust was generally mingled.

The rain continuing, we were unable to walk about or visit the village, and returned on board early.

20*th August*.—At daylight this morning we embarked Mr. Hazlewood and his native friends, and, taking their boat in tow, ran down the coast seven or eight miles to So-Levu, where we sent a boat on shore for the chief. A little commotion was visible among the houses of the village situated close to the sea, but a chief named Ramiramira, who, we were told, governed all that part of the coast situated between the villages of Tai and Wainu including So-Levu, after a short hesitation embarked with one or two others, and came on board. I had some conversation with him respecting the late demonstration against the Christians, to whom he declared himself perfectly friendly, as well as to all white men, a colony of whom (the same now on Ovolau) had resided in the neighbourhood for several years. He excused the late outbreak on the usual plea, that it was not the chief's doing, and assured me the mission had nothing to fear from anybody. Although not affecting to doubt his sincerity, I reminded him that his town of Tai had been burned by Captain Wilkes in 1840 in consequence of the seizure of one of his boats, and that the coast was completely at our mercy, if, by the treatment of British sub-

jects, he provoked our hostility. By way of illustrating the subject I had one or two shots fired at a prominent object on the reef about 1000 yards distant, which might be construed into either a salute or a warning, and, taking a friendly leave of all the party, including Mr. Hazlewood, who returned in his boat to Nandi, we made sail for Bua Bay, about 25 miles to the westward.

The wind falling light, and hanging to the westward, we were obliged to anchor for the night off Lecumba Point in 20 fathoms, the point bearing N. 50° E., Cocoa-nut Point S. 75° E., and Buia S. 67° E. To the northward, at the distance of a few miles, we could see the wooded promontory of Dimba-Dimba, on the northern side of Bua Bay, a point of peculiar sanctity, being that from which spirits are supposed to embark for the judgment-seat of the powerful god Ndengei or Dengei, who resides, in the form of a huge serpent, in the neighbouring district of Nakauvandra.

21*st August*.—At 6 A.M. we weighed, and ran down between the reefs before a fresh trade-wind, which had sprung up during the night, to Bua Bay, into which we stood, and anchored at 9 in 4¾ fathoms, the mud flats, which run out from all sides, especially to the northward where a river runs into the bay, preventing a near approach to the shore.

I left the ship in the forenoon, and having found the entrance to the river with some difficulty, owing to the flood tide having made sufficiently to cover the mud-banks, rowed and paddled for about three miles from its mouth to where, on the right bank, stand the mission premises occupied by the Rev. Mr. Williams, and on the opposite side of the river, a native village. Both are situated in the midst of the usual cocoa-nut and bread-fruit groves, growing on level ground, apparently a rich alluvial deposit extending for some miles inland, and forming a border to an upland country, which is again bounded by a varied and

irregular line of lofty hills clothed to their summits with dark stumpy-looking forests. Mr. Williams, his very agreeable wife, and four children, were comfortably lodged in a good specimen of a cottage on an European model, the garden being surrounded by a neat open fence; and a handsome chapel, the interior highly finished and ornamented with cocoa-nut plait, the work of native artists, prompted by native teachers, previous to the arrival of a resident missionary, stood at a short distance.

The introduction of Christianity into this district was owing to an accidental visit paid by the chief, and some of his people, to Viwa, whence they returned, accompanied by two fellow-countrymen as teachers. They were not allowed, however, to follow their new fancies unmolested, having been shortly invaded by a considerable force of their heathen neighbours, but, being encouraged to defend themselves by one of the teachers, who behaved with great gallantry, they repulsed the enemy without loss, and, although often threatened, have remained actually unmolested ever since. In 1847, it having been decided that the station of Somo-Somo, which had been occupied by two missionaries since 1839, should, from the little success attending their efforts, be abandoned for two stations on Vanua-Levu, Messrs. Watford and Williams were removed with their families, and placed, the former at Nandi, now occupied by Mr. Hazlewood, and the latter here, both of these districts having for some time desired for their small Christian congregations the countenance and protection which the presence of a respectable minister has always afforded.

In the course of last year a son of old Tui Bua's, named Bachanamu,[1] residing at the heathen village on the opposite side of the river, having formed some wild scheme of conquest, which was to include the Christian community, and raised a force of reckless followers for the purpose,

[1] "Eye of Musquito."

had given them some cause for apprehension, but the peaceable portion of his own tribe, unwilling to submit to his dominion, or the consequences of his ambition, had taken an opportunity to put him to death, when his followers quietly dispersed. My object in visiting this station having been to reassure the peaceable members of the mission, and to extend to them the protection due to British subjects, I crossed the river with Mr. Williams to visit the chief of the village, Pita, or Tamai Vunisaa, half-brother to Bachanamu, and warn him of the serious consequences of molesting Englishmen who were infringing none of the laws of the country. We were met by several of the inhabitants, who excused the absence of the chief on the plea of illness, which I found, on proceeding to his house, was not feigned. He was there seated, surrounded by a number of both sexes, from whom he was distinguished by the lighter colour of his skin, his mother having been a native of Tonga. He was evidently ill and frightened, and received us with a quiet submissive manner, which, I was told, was habitual with him, making many protestations of a desire for peace, and to live on good terms with the Christians, to whose faith it was thought he was almost a convert. Seeing his apparently inoffensive disposition, I dwelt more on the advantages which he and his people would derive from peace than on the disastrous consequences which would follow any attack on the mission; but as I had been informed that his late brother had, when reminded of the destruction of Nundavau by Captain Worth of the Calypso, laughed at the power of a ship to punish him, as a retreat in the mountains would always secure his safety, and leave only empty houses at the mercy of the strangers, I explained to him the promise which had been made to me by Thakombau to take the protection of the Christians into his own hands. The hostility of the all-powerful Bau being an event not to be easily provoked, assurances of good intentions were earn-

estly repeated, and I parted on the best of terms with the chief and his people, several of whom followed us down to the boat to wish us farewell.

Although situated on apparently a very fertile plain, I was struck with the general appearance of poverty which this place presented. The houses were poor and dirty, and the people wore the scantiest possible quantity of dress. Several old men were lounging about, the hue of whose skins was much darker, and the cast of countenance more resembling the negro, than among the younger ones. If this improvement in the appearance of the latter was the result of Tongan intermarriages, these would seem to have taken place some generations ago, as the appearance of the chief, the son of a Tongan mother, was very different from that of the men surrounding him, and bore unmistakeable marks of his Malayo-Polynesian blood. Mr. Williams seemed to have hopes that these villages would soon join his congregation, the jealousy which Feejeeans generally feel towards their nearest neighbours being probably the cause which had prevented them from doing so before now.

On the death of the present chief's father, and consequent strangulation of his wives taking place, Mr. Williams had succeeded in rescuing one of these, and carrying her over to his own premises. Not anticipating any revival on her part of a desire to follow her husband to the grave, no steps were taken to confine or watch her. Either unable to overcome her grief at his loss, or the feeling of remorse at having failed in her duty to his memory, she escaped during the night, and, swimming across the river, and presenting herself to her own people, insisted on the completion of the sacrifice which she had in a moment of weakness reluctantly consented to forego on the previous day. Pita, the chief, whose mother was one of the victims on this occasion, is said to be impressed with the barbarity of such proceedings; and the usual effects of the increasing

prosperity of the Christians, who soon begin to acquire a taste for foreign manufactures and more domestic comforts, are likely to display themselves in the union of these two communities.

I found on my return to the ship that very few of the natives had come on board. The shores of the bay are but thinly populated, and they have very few canoes. One small one I remarked capsize in coming off under sail, but she was soon righted. Had she been lost, and the crew obliged to save themselves by swimming, the old customs of Feejee would have entitled the tribe inhabiting the part of the shore which they might reach to put them to death and feast on their bodies. In the wildest districts, such, for instance, as those on the western side of Viti Levu, there is no doubt that this privilege, in the case of their own countrymen, would be asserted even in the present day. A general belief that the flesh of white men is salt and unpalatable, and a kind of respect for the race or dread of the vengeance of their God, whom the Feejeeans consider to be antagonistic to their own deities, and more powerful, would probably exempt a foreigner from this fate, particularly if (as would be the case with a shipwrecked man) he carried about him nothing to excite their cupidity.

22*nd August*.—Mr. and Mrs. Williams came off this morning by invitation to breakfast with me, bringing with them two very fine boys, the eldest of their family, whom they intend soon to send to New Zealand for their education; a school on a handsome scale, and very well conducted, having lately been established at Auckland, almost entirely at the expense of the Wesleyan missionaries out of their moderate salaries, for the education of their children.

Mr. Williams, with the usual kind consideration for the English fancy of collecting, brought off, to present to us, a number of curious articles of native production. A club

of beautiful workmanship, and of a hard dark wood, so polished as to resemble tortoise-shell, had been a former offering made by the turtle-fishers of the now Christian village to their god, and a curious little squat wooden figure, with arms akimbo, which we took at first for an idol, but from Mr. Williams' account had been carved for amusement, was given by him to Captain Jenner. The only attempts I have seen to represent in carving living objects are, this image, and a priest's kava-bowl, which I mentioned before as the gift of Mr. Calvert. The latter represents in a rude manner a duck, or a bird of that nature, the back being hollowed out to receive the liquor, and I was told by the donor that a bowl somewhat similar, but in the form of a man split down the middle, had been procured by Captain Worth on his late visit to the Feejees. Both these articles had composed part of the furniture of an old heathen temple, and were looked upon by the natives with evident respect, as very sacred and uncommon, their antiquity being dated back to a period long before the introduction of iron among these islands. Two live parrots, resembling in size and appearance the "kaka" of New Zealand, formed the young Williams' present to me, and these boys had also arranged little gifts of shells, &c., for some of the young midshipmen, whose acquaintance they had made yesterday on shore. The birds in question were the only ones of the kind I saw among the Feejees, but, in spite of all the attention that could be paid to them, they survived only a few days.

A few of the Christian natives accompanied their missionary, and seemed quiet observant men. They were decently clad in English shirts, a great improvement in our eyes to the Feejeean maro, and seemed pleased with the proposals of some of our officers that they should sit for their portraits, although amidst the excitement of so many novel objects it was not easy to induce them to sit sufficiently still.

Mr. Williams, who had lived for four years at Somo-Somo, gave me some very interesting particulars of the manners of the people, who, in spite of the advantages of frequent communication with a good class of foreigners, remain the fiercest of the group, and have been prevented as yet, by the determined opposition of their two energetic chiefs, father and son (Tui Thakau[1] and Tui Kila-Kila[2]), from furnishing a single convert to the ranks of the Christians. It is singular that this dislike to the new doctrine did not extend to the persons of its teachers, who, after the first feelings of jealousy had passed over, were treated with kindness and respect, and received on a friendly footing by the chief, who had, nevertheless, intimated to his own subjects that any falling away from the faith of their forefathers would be punished with instant death.

The history of the funeral and death (for in such order did these events take place) of the elder chief, is a striking example of a horrible Feejeean custom, and appears the more extraordinary, as Tui Thakau had always been considered one of the most indulgent of fathers, and Tui Kila-Kila, whatever his other vices might have been, had invariably shown himself a dutiful, and even affectionate, son.

Mr. Williams, having accidentally heard that the old chief was dangerously ill, paid him a visit, with the hope that he might be induced, with the fear of death before his eyes, to take a more favourable view of the prospects held out to him by the Christian faith than hitherto.

The old man, who was not in so critical a state as Mr. Williams had been informed, received him with hearty good humour; and in reply to his exhortations to consider his prospects in a future world, declared that his illness was of no consequence, that such an event as his death was far distant, and that there was no necessity to trouble his head with those matters for several years to come.

[1] "Reef." [2] "Figure-head."

On the following morning Mr. Williams, whilst standing at the door of his house, was a good deal surprised, having left the chief in such high spirits so short a time before, by being informed by a Feejeean, evidently proceeding on some important business, in a low tone of voice, as if not desirous of being overheard, that Tui Thakau was dead, and that preparations were going on for his burial. Not doubting the truth of the information, but knowing that the preparations partly consisted in strangling the wives of the deceased, Mr. Williams, hurriedly apprising his colleague, Mr. Hazlewood, of the circumstance, hastened with him to the chief's residence, with the humane intention of endeavouring to save the lives of some at least of the destined victims.

As they crossed the threshold they stepped over the body, yet warm, of the first strangled wife, whilst two men, each holding the end of the fatal cord, were performing the office of the executioner on the second, then in the agonies of death. Tui Kila-Kila, the heir to the chieftainship, sat at a short distance, with a scowl of fierce determination on his countenance, whilst in a more remote corner, to the astonishment of the missionaries, reclined old Tui Thakau himself, apparently in no more infirm condition than on the previous day. A remonstrance on the atrocity of such proceedings during the lifetime of the chief was met by a stern announcement from Tui Kila-Kila that "his father was dead; the spirit had quitted him yesterday: he before them was no living man, but a corpse whom they were about to carry to the tomb." Seeing that no expostulations were likely to be of any avail in favour of the old man, whose mind, from his composed silence, was evidently made up to his fate, the missionaries turned their attention to the surviving wives, whose lives they were successful in saving, the two already sacrificed being considered as sufficient for the occasion.

The principal wife, a woman of higher rank than any

person present, had escaped the usual fate, Feejeean custom requiring that the ceremony of strangulation shall be performed by one of an equal grade. The bodies having been placed in a litter, and the old chief in another, the funeral procession began, the principal wife and son fanning his face as they conducted him to his living grave.

Arrived at the sea-shore, the party embarked in canoes for a small island containing the tombs of the chiefs of Somo-Somo; and the two Englishmen, not desiring to witness any further horrors which they had no means of preventing, returned to the town to secure the safety of the remaining widows.

The ceremonies attending the inhumation of living persons have often been witnessed by Europeans, and are fully described by Jackson (App. A). The only difference in the case of a chief is, that a bed is formed, at the bottom of the grave, of the bodies of the strangled women, the earth being then hastily thrown in and stamped down, so as to drown any expressions of agony from the sufferer. This strange and unnatural practice, which is so common, that an aged or decrepit person is rarely seen among the Feejees, is excused under various pretences, and offers a strong contrast to the customs of the Tongans, who esteem the care of the old as one of their principal religious duties. Although, as in the case of Tui Thakau, fathers are said to offer no resistance when the time of their fate has arrived, yet it is probable that the natural love of life has been the cause of the general habit of the abdication by a chief at a certain age, often not very advanced, of the whole, or a portion, of his authority in favour of his son, who has of course less inducement to hasten the period of his succession.

Almost a singular instance of a ruling chief being allowed to reach the age of decrepitude, is that of old Tanoa, of Bau, the father of Thakombau, who, though not a Christian, will not listen to any proposal to put

the old man to death. Should his own natural feelings and the influence of the missionaries prove strong enough to abrogate the custom in this case, we may hope that the force of so important an example will not be without its effect among the families of inferior chiefs.

My duties having been performed at Bua, and having taken a cordial leave of Mr. Williams and his amiable family, we weighed at 1. 30 P.M., on our return to Ovolau to land our pilot Simpson; but the S.E. trade-wind blowing fresh, and a strong tide or current setting to the westward, we did not succeed in working to windward through the channel by which we had entered further than five or six miles from Lecumba Point, where we anchored for the night in nineteen fathoms.

Bua, or Sandalwood Bay, has been surveyed both by Captain Wilkes and Sir Edward Belcher, then commanding Her Majesty's ship Sulphur. It affords good shelter, and has throughout a fair holding-ground of mud.

A good supply of fresh water may be obtained here at some springs about half a mile from the river's mouth, where there is sufficient depth to admit a large boat at half-flood, and time to load so as to secure high-water to return. A native pilot can always be procured to point out the passage over the bar and the watering-place, the river being deep within the entrance, but so narrowed by the mangroves on the banks as to make it necessary to use paddles instead of oars.

We saw quantities of wild ducks, but found that few supplies of fresh provisions, or even vegetables, were to be procured. I was surprised to find from Mr. Williams that the country, in comparison with the rest of the islands, was poor and infertile, the mud-deposit alone being productive. His estimate of the present population of the whole of this large island, which is about ninety-five miles in length, by twenty-five or thirty in breadth, was not more than ten or twelve thousand souls—an insignificant number

considering that Mr. Williams adheres to an opinion I have heard generally expressed by the other missionaries, that the whole inhabitants of the Feejees cannot be reckoned at fewer than between two and three hundred thousand in all—a calculation not founded on mere surmise, but from the carefully collected testimony of the natives, who enumerate a number of inland tribes, especially in the large and fertile island of Viti Levu.

We owe our present acquaintance with the Feejees to the accidental discovery of sandalwood in this district about the end of last century. This trade, which attracted a number of vessels from Calcutta and Manilla, as well as from our Australian ports, is now however at an end, the supply having been exhausted for several years; and the traffic, less lucrative at the present time, being transferred to the New Hebrides, the Loyalty Islands, and New Caledonia.

The plant seems to abound in the least fertile soils, and is often met with among the last-named islands, apparently growing on the bare coral rock.

23*rd August*.—We had anchored last night in the centre of the channel, here about a mile and a half wide, formed by the coast of Vanua-Levu and a line of reefs to the southward, and well sheltered from all winds. From the ship, Lecumba Point bore N. 25° W.; Dimba-dimba, N.W. ½ W.; and the centre of the more distant island of Yendua, W. by N.

The district, abreast of which we lay, is called Dama, and is occupied by a small population, principally Christian. The trade-wind had freshened up this morning to half a gale of wind, which obliged us to remain at anchor, and prevented even our communicating with the shore. In the afternoon, the weather having moderated a little, a party of us landed on a reef in-shore of us to collect shells, but were obliged to leave it by the rising tide.

24*th and* 25*th August*.—The S.E. wind still blowing

strong (force of 7 to 9, the barometer averaging as high as 30.10), we were prevented from moving. With our limited time the loss of three days was of consequence, and I regretted not having arranged with Simpson, our pilot, that a small schooner, the joint property of himself and David Whippy, should meet us at Bua. Had this arrangement been made, I should have been enabled to visit Muthuata, an island of no little consequence on the northern side of Vanua-Levu, and taken my departure thence from the Feejees, the necessity of landing Simpson at his own village being the only reason for our returning to Ovolau.

The chief of Muthuata governs a large tract of country on the shores of Vanua-Levu, and is said to have nearly one hundred villages subject to him. About a year before our arrival a report had reached Mr. Williams of the murder of two white men at one of these villages (Na Viu), situated on the main land nearly opposite to Muthuata. Captain Worth, to whom this report was communicated, had made all possible inquiries into the circumstances, but, excepting the fact of the death of the two men, had not succeeded in eliciting any information on the subject. A letter was addressed, however, by him, and forwarded by one of the Christian natives, to the chief Retova, to whom some suspicion of the murder was attached, warning him of the consequences of permitting violence to be used towards British subjects. Some delay took place in its delivery, and the following characteristic reply was not received at Bua until the present month:—

TRANSLATION.

"I, Retova, make known to you my mind in truth. I am ignorant of the murder of the foreigners; the common people alone know; but it is true Bonavindongo knew of the murder at Na Viu.

"The affair at Rewa was just, because the chief was party to it, and it was therefore just that he was punished for it.[1]

"Things of this kind done in these parts are done by common

[1] This alludes to the deportation of the Chief Vendovi, by Captain Wilkes, in 1840.

people; only one chief knows of them, and that is Bonavindongo. He knows of the murder at Na Viu.

"We are three that sit here: one is Bete, one is Bonavindongo, one is myself.

"Your warning is good, and I will warn my people that nothing of this kind may hereafter take place.

"RETOVA."

This defence of Retova's, whether true or false, shows the different points always insisted upon by chiefs of a barbarous people, when accused of offences against strangers, although the facts asserted, of the sole culpability of the common people, and a rival chief's knowledge of the murder, are not quite compatible. I mention the circumstance, however, to prove the danger of acting on the testimony of one chief against another. Previous to my seeing this letter, Thakombau, who looks with jealousy on the power of the Muthuata chief, had asserted his belief in the latter's participation in the murder, whilst the accused shifts the blame to the shoulders of Thakombau's ally, Bonavindongo. As the amount of evidence on either side seems about equal, it is obvious that a naval officer, desirous of punishing the actual perpetrators, might with the best intentions be mistaken as to their identity, in which case chastisement inflicted upon his innocent rival, would be the greatest boon that could be bestowed on the real culprit.

26*th August*.—The wind having moderated this morning to a fine working breeze, we weighed at 6.30 A.M., and having beaten up, without any difficulty, through the channel past Cocoa-nut Point and Nandi Bay, steered to the southward, through a reef passage called by our pilot the "Nandi Passage," a little to the eastward of that by which we had entered the channel on the 18th. One or two rocks lie in the way, but are distinguishable by the eye, and the depth of water on either side we found to be about the same as in the other passage, viz., from 12 to 16 fathoms.

From this we steered S. by E. for the island of Mokungai, but, not having time to clear the reef in that direction, we

passed the night in short tacks between it and Goro, a space of about 20 miles, perfectly clear of dangers.

27th August.—We bore up at daylight, and, running through the Mokungai passage, hove to off the entrance to Levuka at 9 A.M. The boat which came to land the pilot brought off Tui Levuka and several of our friends to bid us farewell. Among the party was a young man we had not seen before, a brother of Navindi, who was pronounced by all, in spite of the darkness of his colour, to excel in manly beauty those of all the islands we had yet visited. He brought me a present from his brother of two Feejeean wigs, and a kind letter from Mr. Calvert. A message was also delivered from Thakombau, stating that he had unintentionally left behind him a blanket, which I interpreted into a request for one, and remitted to him accordingly, with a letter in which I repeated the advice I had previously so freely bestowed on him. A few small presents were distributed to the other chiefs; and our pilot and interpreter Simpson, whose conduct had been in every way satisfactory, was remunerated for his fortnight's services by a sum of fifty dollars (about 10*l.*) with which he was perfectly satisfied.

We continued to beat to the southward after making sail from Levuka, standing pretty close in to the island of Mambualau, and to the reef off Nasilai Point, which is steep to and easily distinguishable, till 8 P.M., when, the latter point bearing W.S.W., and Mambualau N. by W. ½ W., we were enabled to bear away for the Kantāvŭ passage, between the island of that name and those of Benga and Namuka, all of which, as well as the distant land of Viti Levu, we sighted in passing. At daylight the western extreme of Kantavu, a remarkable high peaked hill, bore S.E., Ono E. ½ S., and Benga N.E.

An hour later the low island of Vatu-lele was seen, and in a few minutes we were under all sail, running 10 knots W.S.W. for the southernmost of the New Hebrides.

The navigation of the Feejeean group has been rendered comparatively easy by the publication of the charts of the United States Exploring Expedition, which, however, are not supplied to Her Majesty's ships, and of which I never succeeded in procuring a complete set. The general chart of the Archipelago published in the Atlas of the Narrative, will show that there is no danger, with common precautions, including of course a constant mast-head look-out, in entering by any of the passages between the windward islands, and crossing the sea of Goro as far as the island of Ovolau, where, at the village and port of Levuka, a white pilot, whose services will be found indispensable for the leeward portion of the group, will generally be procurable.

To the westward of Mokungai, between the two large islands Viti Levu and Vanua Levu, it would be the height of imprudence to remain under way during the night, as from the steepness of the reefs it is almost impossible to hit upon an anchorage, which should always be secured before dark. In sailing to the northward it is better therefore to pass twice through the openings in the reef, as we did, both because there is sea-room to the eastward of Mokungai, should it be necessary to keep under way, and also because anchorage is to be found, after getting through the Buia or Nandi passage, along the whole south coast of Vanua Levu. For these reasons, even if bound direct to Bua Bay from Levuka, I should adopt that route in preference to attempting the direct passage to the westward of Ovalu or Passage Island.

Before the power of steam, however, most of these little difficulties will disappear, whilst the general abundance of supplies, both of provisions and wood, which has been elsewhere alluded to, will probably point out the Feejees as one of the most eligible stopping-places for steam-ships traversing the Pacific Ocean.

Allusion has been made in the preceding Journal to

the great difference in physical appearance between the Feejeeans and the lighter-coloured Malayo-Polynesians to the eastward. It is impossible not to perceive, on arriving at these islands, that one has come among a distinct race of men; and although a further acquaintance may make one aware of many points of resemblance in their habits, to the Tongans, I think it will, on the whole, confirm the first impression. The standard of height among the Feejeeans is about the same as that of their neighbours; but their more muscular and less rounded limbs, their crisp hair, even when, as among the common people, it has undergone no process of dressing, their somewhat flatter features, and the dark colour of their skins, to which the quantity of hair on their bodies gives a kind of bluish black tinge, offer a strong contrast to the many Tongans with whom one has generally an opportunity of comparing them on the spot. The adventitious ornaments of black and red paint, and the artificial frizzing out of the hair to an immense extent by the higher classes of both sexes—sometimes partially dyed with lime, or powdered with a substance resembling our hair-powder, said to be the ashes of the bread-fruit tree—together with the scanty dress of the men, consisting merely of a small bag, suspended by a narrow strip of native cloth round the loins, serves also to increase the distinction. The chiefs are incontestably much finer looking than the common people: their features having much less of the African negro cast, and their foreheads—partly, perhaps, on account of the form and height of their head-dresses—appearing loftier and more expansive. I did not perceive that, in general, the colour of their skins was lighter; although at Bua I noticed that the older men were, in many instances, of a deeper black than the young ones. One young chief whom I visited there, was said to have been born of a Tongan mother, and his complexion was very different from that of the other Feejeeans.

Captain Wilkes remarked, in 1840, that a greater

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MAUNCA, CHIEF OF TUTUILA,
SAMOAN ISLANDS.

K.M.Knapp, Esq. del. J.A.Vinter, lith. Day & Son, Lith.rs to The Queen.

THAKOMBAU, TUI VITI, CHIEF OF FEEGEE.

number of light-coloured Feejeeans were seen in Muthuata than in any other district he visited; and that these were generally half-castes, the mixture having arisen from their intercourse with Rotuma, an island to the northward, inhabited by a race like the Tongans, and speaking a language slightly resembling Feejeean. A woman of that island, occupying at the time the position of one of the wives of the principal chief, was seen by Captain Wilkes.[1] A more intimate acquaintance with the negroes of the New Hebrides and the Solomon Islands, whom ethnologists have, on apparently very slender grounds, classed among the Negrillo or Negrito race, as well as with the Papuans of New Guinea, who are generally supposed to resemble more nearly the Feejeeans, will perhaps enable us to form some conjecture as to the amount of physical improvement and advance in civilization, the latter may owe to the infusion of Malayo-Polynesian blood.

Philologists are not agreed as to the origin or even the classification of the Feejeean language, Mr. Norris, the learned Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society, concluding that it is "really a Polynesian dialect, though offering peculiarities not found in any other."[2] M. de Humboldt believes that its relations with the Polynesian are of a different kind from that which has generally been supposed: "as words in the Feejeean language often coincide with the western dialects of the Malayo-Polynesians, in examples in which the latter differ from the proper Polynesians or the idioms of the islanders in the Pacific."[3] On the other hand, Mr. Hale declares that, although a fifth part of the words, and most of the grammatical peculiarities, are Polynesian, the remaining four-fifths are unlike those of any idiom with which, in the absence of an extensive vocabulary of a proper Melanesian

[1] Wilkes's Narrative, vol. iii., chap. vii., p. 230.
[2] Pritchard's Researches into the Physical History of Mankind, vol. v. p. 251.
[3] Ibid., vol. v. p. 248.

language, we are as yet acquainted; and that even "of the Polynesian words, many are so altered, according to certain rules, that no Polynesian could pronounce them."[1]

In these researches Mr. Hale had the advantage of examining on the spot the different variations of the Feejeean language, of which he is doubtful if they be sufficiently important to constitute what may properly be called dialects. He found, however, that at Lakemba, the nearest point to Tonga, many Polynesian words were employed which were not known elsewhere; while on the western side of Viti Levu, or that farthest removed from the Polynesian archipelago, he was informed that the difference of dialect was so great as to render the language nearly unintelligible, at first, to natives of other parts.[2] Not only, as in the instance of Lakemba, had the Feejeeans imported new words from the Tongans, but the language of the latter was found to differ in some striking points from the other Polynesian dialects, and to resemble in those particulars the Feejeean.[3] Of one of these points (the different forms of the verb) Mr. Hazlewood remarks in the Preface to his Dictionary,—"We can find nothing in ancient or modern languages analogous to the different forms assumed by the Feejeean verb. We refer more especially to the different terminations; for, in the reduplicated and partly reduplicated forms, and those which express causality and intensity, we have something very similar in the Hebrew."[4]

For all ordinary purposes of communication, the Feejeean language must be allowed to be distinct from the Polynesian; as the man whom we had brought from Apia, and who, speaking fluently both the Samoan and Tongan dialects, had often acted as our interpreter, confessed him-

[1] Hale's Philology of the U. S. Exploring Expedition, p. 174.
[2] Ibid., pp. 367, 368.
[3] Ibid., p. 118.
[4] Feejeean and English Dictionary, by the Rev. D. Hazlewood; Viwa, Feejee, 1850.

self entirely at a loss among these islands. To the ear of a stranger the sound of the two languages is perfectly different, and is perhaps more so than the constructions would seem to warrant, from the Feejeean habit, remarked by Mr. Hale, of pronouncing the final vowels so indistinctly as to make it appear that words—which is not the case—frequently end with a consonant;[1] thus Viti-Levu is often by the whites corrupted into Viti-lib; So-Levu into Sua-lib; and Kantāvŭ almost invariably into Kantab. The most obvious peculiarities in the pronunciation of the language are the combination of nasal sounds with three of the consonants, *b* being always preceded by the sound of *m*; and *d* and *g* by that of *n*; and the great variety of the sounds is proved by the necessity of employing at least twenty-one letters in the alphabet, fourteen being sufficient for the Samoan.

The Feejeeans have, as well as the Tongans, some words of a ceremonious language. The following, which are examples of words already given in the Samoan language, may afford a slight notion of the difference and occasional resemblance of the Feejeean :—

	Tongan		English	Feejeean	
	To chiefs	common		To chiefs	common
1	aao	lima	hands	aithaka	lingana
2	fofonga	ulu	head	fofonga	ulu
3	tangitangi	mahaki	sickness	milamila	mātha
4	mehamai	moha'u	you are come	kemenu salea mai	sa lako mai
5	meha	nofo	to sit	wirira	chiko
6	fetalai	tala mai	to speak	vekatatamu	e posa mai
7	taumafa	kai	to eat	tauri	tana
8	tofā	moe	to sleep	tavo	sa mothe
9	vakai mai	chio mai	to see	serau	rai
10		mate	to die	sambale	sa mate

The similarity, amounting to identity, of the Feejeean to the Polynesian numerals, has sometimes been insisted upon as affording an additional proof of the Polynesian origin of the language; but those who have seen the avidity with which the inhabitants of the polyglot islands

[1] Hale's Philology, p. 367.

of Melanesia, from New Caledonia to the Solomon Islands, adopt the improvements of a more perfect language than their own—which drift canoes and accidental communications still continue to bring to them—will not think it improbable that a much shorter intercourse with another race, than the Feejeeans have enjoyed with the Tongans, should have introduced that among the small recognized amount of the Polynesian element, into their most finished dialects. Among the Melanesian islands, as will be mentioned in the proper place, scarcely one was found by us, which did not possess, in some cases still imperfectly, the decimal system of numeration in addition to their own, in which they reckon only to five. Has this been the case in the Feejees? and is it not possible that among the more barbarous people of the western coast of Viti Levu, or the inland tribes, some traces may yet be found of these old and primitive numerals which may throw some light on the subject? The determination of this question would be most interesting in an ethnological point of view; but it is one which, if not decided in the course of a very few years, must, from the rapid change of manners and assimilation of dialects now taking place, remain a matter of mere conjecture.[1]

I am not aware of the origin assigned by the Feejeeans to the islands which, until lately, constituted their world; but it is certain that, in common with the original Malays of Sumatra, as well as some of the ruder negro races of the New Hebrides, they have a tradition[2] of an universal

[1] For a complete analysis of the Feejeean language, see Hale's Philology; also the Rev. Mr. Hazlewood's Feejeean Grammar, and Feejeean and English Dictionary, a portion only of which has fallen into my hands.

[2] Marsden's Grammar of the Malayan language, Introduction, p. 11. The Rev. John Inglis, who accompanied me to the New Hebrides in 1850, speaking of the island of Aneiteum, says, "A native was one day listening to an oral translation of the Flood, made by one of the missionaries; he appeared particularly attentive, and at last said, "Stop; that is almost the same as our account:" and after detailing their tradition, he added, "but your forefathers having written an account for you, whilst ours only told it to their children, yours must be more correct than ours."—*Report of a Missionary Tour, &c.*, p. 17.

deluge, by which, shortly after the creation, the whole were submerged. A curious parallel to Noah is afforded by the god of carpenters, Rokova, who, with his principal workmen, Ṛokola, made his appearance with two double canoes during the catastrophe, and saved in all *eight* persons, who were landed at the island of Benga.

Of their numerous deities, the most generally known, according to the Rev. Mr. Hunt, is Ovē, who is considered the maker of all men, and is supposed to reside in the heavens, or, as some say, in the moon. Different tribes, according to the same authority, however, attribute their origin to different gods—the people of Viwa considering a certain female deity as their creator; and yet, if a child is born ill-formed, it is attributed to an oversight of Ovē.

Ndengei is, next to Ovē, the most generally acknowledged deity, and is said to be enshrined, in the form of a serpent, in a cave in the district of Nakauvandra, in Viti Levu.

To the judgment-seat of this god souls are believed to be sent immediately after death for purification, or to receive sentence; but the Rev. Mr. Hazlewood says he is not much feared or worshipped, except in the immediate vicinity of his cave. When a comet appeared a few years since it was called by many Ndengei's son, and was said by the priests to have been sent by him to investigate the state of Christianity among the islands, and to put a stop to its progress; in which, however, it signally failed.

Ratumaimbulu is, according to Mr. Hazlewood,[1]

"A god of great importance in Feejee, as he causes the fruit-trees to blossom, and on him depends the fruitfulness, or otherwise, of the seasons. There is a month in the year, about November, called Vula i Ratumaimbulu (the month of Ratumaimbulu). In this month the god comes from Bulu, the world of spirits, to make the bread-fruit and

[1] Speech of the Rev. David Hazlewood at a missionary meeting in Hobart Town, published in a local paper.

other fruit-trees blossom and yield fruit. He seems to be a god of peace, and cannot endure any noise or disturbance, and his feelings in this respect are most scrupulously regarded by the natives. They, therefore, live very quietly during this month, it being tapu to go to war, or to sail about, or plant, or build houses, or do most kinds of work, lest Ratumaimbulu should be offended, and depart again to Bulu, leaving his important work unfinished. The priests announce the time of his coming from the other world, and also the time of his departure, when it again becomes lawful to pursue their usual labours. But before he leaves the world the priests have to bathe him, lest he should have contracted any impurities during his residence and occupation in this world. This custom probably arises from one of their own—that of always going to bathe after they have done their work. Be this as it may, the priests bathe the god, and send him away to Bulu; immediately after which they raise a great shout, which is carried from town to town."

It would be an unprofitable task to repeat the long lists of deities,[1] with their various attributes, which may be collected from Captain Wilkes's elaborate notes, and missionary notices. The diversity of their names and habits is, perhaps, best accounted for by Mr. Hazlewood, who says,—

"They have superior and inferior gods and goddesses, more general and local deities, and, were it not an obvious contradiction, we should say they have gods *human*, and gods *divine;* for they have some gods who were gods originally, and some who were originally men. It is impossible to ascertain with any degree of probability how many gods the Feejeeans have, as any man who can distinguish himself in murdering his fellow-men may certainly secure to himself deification after his death. Their friends also are sometimes deified and invoked. I have heard them invoke their friends who have been drowned at sea. I need not advert to the absurdity of praying to those who could not save themselves from a watery grave. Tuikilakila, the chief of Somosomo, offered Mr. Hunt a preferment of this sort. 'If you die first,' said he, 'I shall make you my god.' In fact, there appears to be no certain line of demarcation between departed spirits and gods, nor between gods and living men, for many of the priests and old chiefs are considered as sacred persons, and not a few of them will also

[1] For a fuller account of the Feejeean Mythology, see Wilkes's Narrative, vol. iii., chap. iii.; Hunt's Memoirs of Cross; Lawry's Friendly and Feejee Islands, &c. &c.

claim to themselves the right of divinity. 'I am a god,' Tuikilakila would sometimes say; and he believed it too. They were not merely the words of his lips; he believed he was something above a mere man."

The business of creation and the production of food may be considered the only two beneficent works performed for man by any of the Feejeean divinities.[1] In all other respects, cruelty, a craving for blood, and especially for human flesh as food, are characteristics of the gods, and, as such, eagerly sought to be copied by their votaries. Mr. Hazlewood says of the nature of the gods,—

"They consider the gods as beings of like passions with themselves. They love and hate; they are proud and revengeful, and make war, and kill and eat each other, and are, in fact, savages like themselves. The names of some of their gods are indicative of their nature. The chief god of Somosomo is named Mainatavasara, which may be rendered 'the god just come from the slaughter.' Another is Ranusimano (spit wonders), which is indicative of the ease with which he can perform miraculous works. Another god's name is Mataiwalu, the god with eight eyes, indicating his wisdom; another, Bativonu, the god fond of turtles; another, Batimona, the god fond of human brains. Thus their gods are cannibals, like themselves."

With their deep religious convictions, therefore, it is not surprising that all indulgence of the gentler feelings of the heart, in which the Feejeean nature is certainly not deficient, is condemned as a weakness, and great pains are taken to instil into the youthful mind a contempt for compassionate impulses, and an admiration for relentless cruelty.

Captain Wilkes relates that, on visiting Tui Thakau,

[1] Captain Wilkes, vol. iii., chap. iii., p. 84, mentions two sons of "Ndengei" (Tokai-Rambe and Tui Lakemba) as acting as mediators between their father and inferior spirits, being stationed at the door of their father's cabin to transmit to him the prayers of departed souls. I suspect, however, that this is a copy of the Christian doctrine, and a late introduction. Their tradition of the origin of the various races of men, attributing their dark colour to a punishment for their sins, is copied from the Tongans.

Mariner, who first related it (vol. ii., p. 123), suspected it to be a version of our account of Cain and Abel, derived from some of the older missionaries; and as white men were unknown to the Feejeeans until the end of last century, this tradition has been probably introduced since that period. See, for a different opinion, Hale's Ethonology, &c., of the United States Exploring Expedition, p. 178.

the old chief of Somo-Somo, shortly after the death of his favourite son, Katu Albithi, the bereaved father, in passing an eulogium on the departed, ascribed to him all the beauty a man could possess in the eyes of a Feejeean, and concluded "by speaking of his daring spirit and consummate cruelty, as he could kill his own wives if they offended him, and eat them afterwards!"[1]

In Jackson's narrative (Appendix A) a case is related, in which a man of Nateva, who had been engaged with the people of Namuka, was, whilst reposing in the temple after the battle, seized with a fit of religious frenzy, in which he imagined that the spirit was expressing his anger at an insufficient slaughter of the enemy, and a ceremony of atonement was performed by his comrades.

A firm belief in a future state is general among the people, although there seems no very determinate notion of its character, further than that those whose conduct has been pleasing to the gods will enjoy a greater degree of happiness after death than in this world. The slaughter of many enemies is considered most likely to propitiate the deity: and it would also seem that a belief in the resurrection of the body, in the exact condition in which it leaves the world, is one of the causes that induce, in many instances, a desire for death in the vigour of manhood, rather than in the decrepitude of old age.

Some at least of a chief's wives are always strangled on the death of their husband, to accompany him to the other world, and no reluctance is ever shown by women to submit to the sacrifice; nor, as far as we know, do young women consider the age of a man as any objection to their marriage, although fully aware that they must probably follow him to the tomb long before the natural termination of their own lives. The name and nature of their future abode differs in many of the islands, but the greater number speak of "Bulu" as the place of departed

[1] Wilkes's Narrative, vol. iii., chap. v., p. 159.

spirits, a term probably synonymous with the Tongan Bulotu.

The Feejeean notions of immortality are, however, much more extended than those of their neighbours, as they believe not only in the future existence of mankind, but in that of brute animals, and even inanimate objects, which, when worn out or destroyed, are said to go to Bulu, for the use, probably, of the immortal souls of men.

It must not be supposed that there are not, as in other countries, occasional examples, especially among the chiefs, of freethinkers, who reject and ridicule all belief. Thakombau, for instance, whose strong mind has probably been worked upon by the missionaries sufficiently to enable him to see the falsehood of the old superstitions, although he has not yet acknowledged the truth of any other religion, is known frequently to deride and reprobate many points of his people's faith as mere delusions.

The Feejeeans have generally been described as a cowardly people in war. That they show no little contempt of death is obvious from what has been already said, but it is equally true that in many wars, undertaken more to gratify revenge than from a desire for conquest, the slaughter of their enemies, and the obtaining the bodies for food, are objects supposed to be as honourably obtained by stratagem and every species of treachery, as by personal strength or courage. Indeed, the extent to which the thirst for blood prevails, as the best means of deprecating the wrath of the malignant deities whom they worship, would be incredible, but for the undeniable testimony of many reliable witnesses. Canoes launched over the living bodies of slaves as rollers, houses built on similar foundations, the immediate massacre of all unfortunates in whom were detected the fatal sign of shipwreck, "salt-water in the eyes," are, or until lately were, practices sanctioned by religion, the omission of which, at the proper season for their performance, was sure to call down

the indignation of the gods, and the punishment of the too merciful offenders. The suppression of all natural affection must be supposed to have been completed when the burying alive of parents who had become burdensome to their children, and even of sickly sons by the hands of their own fathers, were events of almost daily occurrence.

The principal directors and instigators of these monstrous rites are the priests, whose office is in general, although not always, hereditary. The power of receiving inspiration, and of announcing the will of the deity, during a violent fit of muscular or nervous shaking, supposed to betoken the possession of his body by the spirit, is a necessary qualification for the priestly office, which is sometimes assumed by an individual who, having acquired this art, considers himself capable of conducting the duties of the station.[1] The muscular exertion is described as very great, and I have heard even white persons express a doubt of its being voluntary on the part of the priests. Whatever is uttered during this paroxysm is believed to be the direct response of the spirit to petitions addressed to him, and he is not supposed to quit the body of the priest until the latter, striking the ground with a club, announces his departure. Kava is then served to the priest in a consecrated wooden bowl, often curiously ornamented, and a great quantity of food is consumed by him, which the exhaustion he has undergone from his exertions requires. As there is at least one temple to each village, so each has its respective priest, who has immense influence over the common people, although he is said to be in general the tool of the chief, who will occasionally threaten him with punishment if his oracles are unfavourable, or even put him to death if the office appears to have been improperly assumed. Mr. Hazlewood gives the following

[1] Captain Wilkes witnessed a performance of this kind at Levuka: vol. iii., chap. iii., p. 87. Some of his officers also persuaded a priest to shake before them at Lecumba Point, but the man took care that none of his own countrymen were present.—Wilkes's Narrative, vol. iii., chap. ix., p. 307.

account of the death of an impostor by the hands of the famous chief of Somo-Somo:—

"I knew a young man at Somo-Somo who paid dearly for a trick of this kind. He was hungry one day, and sat down a few paces from my garden fence, and began to shake priest fashion, and to call for bananas. Of course it was the god that wanted the bananas, and bananas were immediately given him. This, you see, was an easier way to obtain them than going to plant them. Well, he went on for some months, perhaps twelve, and fully established his reputation as a priest, and began to think himself somebody, and to wear a long train behind him, as the chiefs do. Tuikilakila, being annoyed at his assuming so much, and I suppose being rather doubtful as to the validity of his priesthood, sent for him one day to go to his house. He went, and Tuikilakila interrogated him after this manner:—'Who are you, that you should set up priest and make yourself somebody? I will kill you, and eat you to-day; and if your god be a true god he will eat me.' And he was as good as his word too, for he lifted his ponderous club with his giant arm, and clubbed him on the spot, put him into an oven, and baked and ate him. He had to eat him alone, as the people dare not eat a priest, as they expect that the priest's god would inflict vengeance on them for it."

Jackson relates an instance (Appendix A, p. 471) where the chief of Rewa changed the tone of a priest's prophecies by a timely threat, and I was assured that on the occasion of collecting human victims for the visit of the Bitoni tribe in July, 1849, Navindi, who, with his priest, was employed in the search, had resolved that, had not the promises of the oracle of an ample supply, been fulfilled, the number was to have been increased by his body. The influence of the priest over the common people being necessary on all great undertakings, the chief seldom travels without one in his train, and a large portion of tribute or plunder, as well as of the offerings made to the gods, falls to his share. On occasions of great ceremony, entertainments are sometimes given, under the superintendence of the priest, in the temple, which is adapted for this purpose, as well as holding councils and public meetings. Offerings are deposited in the temple, either as praying for assistance or returning thanks, after

the manner of "ex-voto" offerings in Catholic countries. The Rev. Mr. Williams gave me at Bua a beautiful club, taken from the temple of a Christianised village, which had been the "singäana," or thank-offering, of the turtle-fishers on some occasion of success, and several clubs or muskets, which had caused death, and were thenceforward considered sacred, were seen in different temples in the heathen villages. The greater part of the food offered to the god, as well as the first fruits of the yams, which are always presented at the principal temple of the district, become the property of the priests, and form their revenues, although the pretence of their being required for the use of the god is generally kept up. The withholding of these offerings by Christian villages has occasionally, as at Nandi, been the cause of quarrels with their heathen neighbours; but as the priests' interests were alone concerned, these disputes have in general been easily settled. Indeed, the prospect of a release from the oppressive exactions of the priests often operates favourably towards the adoption of the new religion. The Feejeeans are said not to worship idols, although carved figures are occasionally met with in their temples. I never saw but one image of the kind, a squat human figure of about a foot and a half in height, which had served as a plaything to the Rev. Mr. Williams's children, and was by him presented to Captain Jenner.

The priests, besides announcing the oracular communications from the gods, offer up prayers in the temple, when oblations are presented, and on the occasion of certain festivals. Mr. Hazlewood, in his Grammar, gives a specimen of a Feejeean prayer, which, he says,

"contains the substance of what they generally pray for, viz. that the season may be fruitful—that the blossoms may be fruit-bearing (not false blossoms)—and that they may have plenty of fish. Many gods (indicated by the many 'bures' mentioned), with their children and dead men, are invoked. The gods are entreated to be of one mind

(veivau), to let us live, and the children and women, and to sweep away all diseases, and that we may be far from every calamity, and that we may be at peace with Bau. Also that our enemies may be clubbed," &c. &c. [1]

The Feejeeans are said to divide the year into eleven portions, or months, indicated by the different phenomena of vegetation, and the requisite agricultural occupations; but as each month is supposed to commence with the new moon, I am at a loss to know how these are arranged so as to complete the year. It may be remarked that, although a few festivals are held at stated periods, such as one at the time of the ripening of the bread-fruit, there seems no trace of a periodical day of rest resembling the Jewish or Christian sabbath.

The nature of government among the different tribes in Feejee is, as may be gathered from the notes of our intercourse with them, a despotism of individual chiefs, regulated in some degree by established customs and obligations. The "kaisis," or slaves, which compose the bulk of the people, are utterly disregarded in all arrangements, but the classes above them are divided into grades by nice distinctions of rank. These are (after the kings or reigning chiefs) chiefs, warriors, and, lastly, a class of retainers called "Matanivanua," or "eyes of the land," who are said to act as the ruling chief's ambassadors or messengers. These classes seem to have some control over the ruler's actions in public affairs, and occasionally a powerful chief will interfere, from motives of policy, to prevent too severe oppression, on the part of an ally, of his inferior "galis," or tributaries, which is the only protection the latter can hope to have against the absolute will of their superiors.

General councils appear only to be held for the purpose of collecting tribute, or an offering to a superior; and we heard nothing of deliberative assemblies resembling those of the Samoans. Eloquence, on this account, is not an

[1] Grammar of the Feejeean Language, &c., p. 70.

accomplishment of the chiefs, but each tribe has its "daunvosu" or orator, to make orations on occasions of ceremony, or to assist the priest and chief in exciting the courage of the people before going to battle.

In common with all the islanders of both races of which we know anything, they circumcise boys some years before attaining manhood, and the custom of cutting off little fingers for mourning, as in Tonga, is also usual with them. The mystical "tabu" prevails to fully as great an extent as elsewhere, but I have always imagined, from the accounts given of its operation, that, although the services of a priest are sometimes called in to assist, it is in fact more a civil than a religious ceremony, and that the fear of offending the chief, who alone has the power of laying on or removing a tabu, rather than the gods, is the cause of its rigid observance. Provisions are occasionally tabued either for political or private purposes; but the most absurd application (which I never had an opportunity of witnessing) is described to be that laid on the hands of a man who has touched either the head of a living chief or the body of a dead one, by which the tabued person is prevented from handling his food, and must be fed by another. As all great chiefs take a particular pride in their hair, which is dressed with great care and attention, each maintains a number of barbers, who must all, in consequence of their trade, lie under this prohibition.

Marriages, even among the lower classes, are supposed to be sanctioned by the presence and prayers of a priest, but the number of a Feejeean's wives is limited only by his means of maintaining them, or his inclination.

The greatest chiefs we saw, although possessed of many wives, seemed to attach themselves chiefly to one, whose authority, we were told, was exercised over the others. These latter, unless of high birth, were considered and treated much like slaves, and this custom of giving one woman precedence seems to be general.

The daughters of principal chiefs are betrothed in their youth, often from political motives, and the nuptials are afterwards celebrated with great show and parade. The sons of a woman of this high rank become, as mentioned before, "vasus" to her tribe, and on their visits receive much attention, as well as the more substantial advantages of forced presents.

Altogether the position of women in society cannot be considered low, depending, as it does, more on their birth than their sex, and, as far as we were able to judge, the intercourse between the sexes, without pretending to any exalted feelings of modesty or principle, is conducted with great delicacy, excepting in cases where the bad example of dissolute white men has spread its contamination. Thakonauto, of Rewa, who has been more exposed to this evil influence than most other chiefs, had carried his debauchery to such a degree of grossness, that Thakombau, on a visit which he paid to that district, was said to have quitted the former's house in disgust.

The Feejeeans do not permit early marriages, asserting, perhaps with reason, that such connections would tend to prevent the growth of the young women, and deteriorate their race. Virginity is consequently preserved to a greater age among girls than in most other countries, and we heard nothing of the loose conduct on their parts which among many of the more luxurious Polynesians used to be tolerated before marriage.

Wives are said to be in general faithful to their husbands; and although occasionally an example of a Messalina, such as Jackson (App. A, p.468) describes the queen of Rewa to be, may occur, female virtue may be rated at a high standard for a barbarous people.

How the education of the children is managed, I had no means of ascertaining, but, when we consider their acquirements, it is evident that it must be conducted with no little care. Perfection in the athletic exercises of swimming,

throwing the spear or club, and handling a canoe, seems to be attained at an early age, and I never met a lad or girl who was not acquainted with the native name of any blade of grass or leaf of a tree, which might be exhibited to them.[1] Where nature is so carefully studied, it is not likely that man should be the only subject neglected, and I believe, in consequence, that attempts to impose upon these savages by any affectation of speech or action are almost sure to be futile, and that the only politic mode of dealing with them is on all occasions to treat them with perfect openness and good faith.

Among the many barbarous and repulsive features in the character of this strange people, the most striking, perhaps, is their habitual indulgence in the disgusting practice of cannibalism, in which they equal, if they do not exceed, all other known races. The notion of using the bodies of our fellow-creatures for food is so revolting to the feelings of civilized men, that many have refused all belief in the systematic exercise of such a habit, and the general disinclination to give it credence is often shown by meeting all allusions to the subject by foolish jests, which, did they not express incredulity, would evince a somewhat discreditable indifference to the custom.

If the examples given by the navigators[2] of last century did not, at the time, appear sufficient to warrant us in branding the New Zealanders and other islanders of the Pacific with this stigma, it is certain that our more intimate acquaintance with them has proved beyond all doubt the existence of man-eating to a degree which formerly could only have been conjectured, and to which it was not sup-

[1] Jackson says (App., A,), that the women sometimes pretend to the knowledge of poisons, and that they use herbs for medicine. He has also stated to me that surgical operations are not uncommon, even that of castration, which is performed as a remedy, real or supposed, for certain diseases, probably hydrocele, and, strange to say, is not believed to affect the manly qualities of the patient.

[2] See Cook's Voyage, Hawkesworth's collection, vol. ii. p. 390, and afterwards; also, Voyage round the World, in H.M.S. Resolution, in 1772, 3, 4, and 5, by George Forster, vol. i. p. 512.

posed to extend, even by those who felt fully convinced of its prevalence. Should the evidence of witnesses of undoubted veracity to individual acts of cannibalism among the Feejeeans be required, it is not difficult to supply it. Out of an immense mass of such testimony, the following will probably not be called in question.

M. Gervaise, an officer of the French expedition under the command of M. Dumont d'Urville, in October, 1838, paid, by his captain's directions, a visit of ceremony to Tanoa at Bau, which he thus describes:—

"J'ai trouvé le chef assis auprès de sa femme sur des nattes; il m'a fait asseoir à sa droite, et m'a reçu avec beaucoup d'affabilité. Après avoir expliqué à Tanoa le but de ma mission, et reçu de lui des réponses on ne peut plus satisfaisantes, il m'a offert en grande pompe un kava, auquel assistaient tous les principaux chefs de l'île. Après avoir bu le kava je voulais me retirer pour me conformer aux ordres du commandant; mais Tanoa, me montrant une cuisse d'homme qui rôtissait sur des cailloux brulants, m'engagea avec beaucoup d'instance à partager son repas, et vit avec peine que je ne voulais pas me rendre à ses pressantes sollicitations; il n'en était pas ainsi des matelots de la baleinière qui m'avaient accompagné, et qui auraient bien voulu goûter un morceau de chair humaine.

"Ces débris humains provenaient d'un habitant de Piva qu'il avait fait prisonnier il y a quelques jours." [1]

Captain Wilkes received from the Rev. Mr. Hunt (a most energetic member of the Wesleyan body, whose early death in October, 1848, they have to deplore), the account of a cannibal feast, which he witnessed at Somo-Somo a few months after his arrival there for the purpose of founding a mission.

"On the 11th of February, 1840," says Captain Wilkes, "one of the missionaries' servants informed them that the king had sent for two dead men from Lauthala, a town or koro not far from Somo-Somo. On inquiring the reason, he knew of none but that the king was angry; this was sufficient to know, and in some degree prepared them for what they shortly afterwards had to witness. They now found that their servant was only partly informed; for, instead of two men, they soon observed eleven brought in, and knew that a feast was to take

[1] Voyage dans l'Océanie, vol. iv., notes, p. 394.

place. Messrs. Hunt and Lyth went to the old king to urge him to desist from so barbarous and horrid a repast, and warned him that the time would come when he would be punished for it. The king referred them to his son, but the savage propensities of the latter rendered it impossible to turn him from his barbarous purposes. On the day of the feast the shutters of their houses were closed, in order to keep out the disgusting smell that would ensue, but Mr. Hunt took his station just within his fence, and witnessed the whole that followed. The victims were dragged along the ground, with ropes around their necks, by these merciless cannibals, and laid, as a present to the king, in the front of the missionaries' house, which is directly opposite the king's square, or public place of the town. The cause of the massacre was, that the people of Lauthala had killed a man belonging to the king's koro, who was doing some business for the king; and notwithstanding the people of Lauthala are related to the king, it was considered an unpardonable offence, and an order was given to attack their town. The party that went for this purpose came upon the unsuspecting village, when (according to themselves) they were neither prepared for defence nor flight; or, as they described it to Mr. Hunt, 'at the time the cock crows, they open their eyes and raise their heads from sleep, they rushed in upon them and clubbed them to death,' without any regard to rank, age, or sex. All shared the same fate, whether innocent or guilty. A large number were eaten on the spot. No report makes this less than thirty, but others speak of as many as three hundred. Of these it is not my intention to speak, but only of what was done with the eleven presented to the king and spirit.

"The utmost order was preserved on this occasion as at their other feasts; the people approaching the residence of the king, with every mark of respect and reverence, at the beat of the drum. When human bodies are to be shared, the king himself makes a speech, which he did on this occasion. In it he presented the dead to his son, and intimated that the gods of Feejee should be propitiated that they might have rain, &c. The son then rose, and publicly accepted the gift, after which the herald pronounced aloud the names of the chiefs who were to have the bodies. The different chiefs take the bodies allotted to them away to their bures, there to be devoured.

"The chief of Lauthala was given to their principal god, whose temple is near the missionaries' house. He was cut up and cooked two or three yards from their fence, and Mr. Hunt stood in his yard and saw the operation. He was much struck with the skill and despatch with which these practised cannibals performed their work. While it was going on, the old priest was sitting in the door of his temple giving directions, and anxiously looking for his share. All this, Mr. Hunt said, was done with the most perfect insensibility. He could not per-

ceive the least sign of revenge on the part of those who ate them, and only one body was given to the injured party. Some of those who joined in the feast acknowledged that the people of Lauthala were their relations, and he fully believes that they cooked and ate them because they were commanded to do so.

"After all the parts but the head had been consumed, and the feast was ended, the king's son knocked at the missionaries' door, which was opened by Mr. Hunt, and demanded why their windows were closed. Mr. Hunt told him, to keep out the sight as well as the smell of the bodies that were cooking. The savage instantly rejoined, in the presence of the missionaries' wives, that if it happened again he would knock them on the head and eat them." [1]

Several of the officers and men of the U. S. ship Peacock, forming one of the squadron under Captain Wilkes, were witnesses to an actual case of cannibalism in the course of the same year.

Whilst that ship, in the month of June, 1840, was at anchor in Naloa bay, near Muthuata, when hostilities were going on with a neighbouring tribe, a canoe came alongside, having on board the remains of a prisoner who had been killed, and the greater part of his body eaten, on the previous day. The skull was described as yet warm from the fire, scorched and marked with the teeth of those who had eaten of it. The brains had been, it was said, roasted and taken out, also the eyes and the teeth. Another canoe had also some roasted flesh in it.

Whilst Mr. Speiden, the purser of the Peacock, was bargaining for the purchase of the skull, a native stood near, holding in his hand what proved to be the dead man's eye, which he had plucked from the skull and was eating. This sight produced a feeling of sickness in many, who were fully satisfied with this ocular proof of cannibalism. The man while eating the eye was exclaiming, "Vinaka, vinaka!" (good, good), and another was seen eating the last of the flesh from the thigh-bone. This, the first instance of the kind which came under the actual

[1] Wilkes's Narrative, vol. iii., chap. v., pp. 153, 154.

notice of any person belonging to the expedition, was witnessed (says Captain Wilkes) by several of the officers and men, who all testify to the same facts.[1]

Although direct proofs, such as the above, may be necessary to convince some humane sceptics of the existence of this abominable practice, a visitor to the Feejee islands must at once feel all doubt dispelled which he may have entertained on the subject; as the ordinary details of every-day life abound with examples, which, if not spoken of by the white residents without disgust, excite at least no surprise. So habitual has the use of the dead body for food become, that the missionaries assert that the Feejeean language contains no word for a simple corpse, but the word used, "bakola," conveys the idea of eating the body;[2] and a term which, when translated, we at first considered a jest, "puaka balava," or long pig, is employed in serious parlance, to express the difference between the human body and that of a hog, to which the epithet "dina," or true, is in distinction applied. The supply of human flesh was formerly in all parts of Feejee, and is still in the districts to which the influence of the missionaries has not extended, furnished from different sources, the luxury being in general denied to women and slaves, although they are supposed sometimes to satisfy their curiosity or inclination in secret. All enemies killed in battle are, as a matter of course, eaten by the victors, the bodies being previously presented to the spirit. This source of supply, to which it is now believed all the negro races of the Pacific have recourse, as well as to the bodies of shipwrecked persons, in whose disfavour a strange superstition seems to have existed even in countries now civilized, is by no means sufficient for the Feejeean demand, whose customs require that on occasions of ceremony, when strangers of consequence are entertained, the magnificence

[1] Wilkes's Narrative, vol. iii., chap. vii., p. 234.
[2] Lawry's Friendly and Feejee Islands, p. 93.

of the chief shall be exhibited by a feast of human victims. The method of furnishing these, by kidnapping neighbours, generally females, has been shown on the occasion of the Butoni visit to Bau; and sometimes much diplomacy is exerted to calm the excited feelings of the tribe whose women have thus been carried off. The chief of the fishermen, whose duty it is to procure the supply, is, when a remonstrance is made, subjected to a public reproof, until he apparently conciliates, after a feigned disgrace, by an apology and present of whales' teeth, the favour of the reigning chief, whose object, of entertaining his visitors properly, is thus gained without the sacrifice of his popularity with his neighbours. It has been even asserted that the Feejeeans do not object to banquet on the flesh of their nearest friends, and also that, in times of scarcity, families will make an exchange of children for this horrid purpose. This assertion I have heard contradicted, but it admits of no denial that children have been offered by the people of their own tribe to propitiate a powerful chief, and more than one white man has seen the canoe of Tanoa, after a condescending visit to Ovolau, returning to Bau, with the bodies of infants, offerings from the people of Levuka, ostentatiously hanging at the yard-arms.

The method of cooking is usually that of the hot-stone oven, in which the body is placed entire, but it is sometimes cut up and boiled in pots of their own crockery, portions being sent to a distance as presents to their friends. The neglect of this courtesy, either in the case of human flesh or turtle, which is much prized, is sometimes the occasion of quarrel between neighbouring villages; to prevent which the portions are sometimes so minute as to do little more than express the intended compliment. In some of the islands, a more than usual coxcombery in the art of cooking is affected, as the human body is prepared in any form that may be desired.

"The limbs," says Mr. Lawry, "are tied, say in a sitting form,

and there they remain; the body is roasted, hot stones being placed within, as in the case of other animals; when dressed they take the body up, paint the face red, place a wig upon the head, put a club or fan in the hands, as they may happen to fancy, and then carry the whole as a present to be eaten by their friends. They sometimes travel far with this spectacle, which, when met in the path, may easily be mistaken for a living man in full dress. When the carver commences his work he observes the same rule as in dividing other food, only the *cutis*, or outer skin, being first removed, leaving what remains white."[1]

The parts of the human body which are preferred for food are the legs, thighs, and arms; the flesh of women being considered more tender than that of men. It is remarkable that there is a general belief in the disagreeable flavour or saltness of the flesh of white men, a prejudice which probably does not operate so favourably in exempting them, under certain circumstances, from this fate, as an apprehension of the displeasure of the strangers' god, to whom even the heathens are disposed to allow superior power to that of any of their own deities.

The above details, which will probably be thought more than sufficient, considering the hateful nature of the subject, are necessary to illustrate a remarkable point in the history and character of this people.

White men who have resided among them describe their ordinary mode of living as regular and not altogether unrefined; great attention being paid to the cooking and serving of their food, in which rigid cleanliness is always observed.

Those who attempt to account for the existence of cannibalism by the absence of animal food will find themselves at a loss here, as there is no scarcity of pigs or fowls, although the use of them seems to be generally monopolised by the chiefs. How the stock is reared, or what inducement may be afforded to individuals to increase it, I cannot say, as tributary districts appear liable to

[1] Lawry's Friendly and Feejee Islands in 1847, p. 94.

demands from their superiors at all times; but the swine we saw were of a good-looking breed, which has probably been improved by accidental importations in vessels trading in sandalwood with China. Thakombau, I was told, possessed two bulls and a few cows on one of the smaller islands, but they were said not to increase their numbers. I recommended him to separate the bulls, and to give or lend one to the missionaries, who have a cow or two, which he half promised to do.

Shell-fish must form a principal item in the food of the common people, as the collecting it is one of the daily duties of the women, who crowd the reefs, at low water, for the purpose of filling their baskets.

The Feejeeans prepare and drink kava in the same manner and on the same occasions as the Polynesians. They call it, however, by a perfectly different name, "angona" or "yangona," by which Jackson says the natives told him the plant was known before the use of it was taught them by the Tongans. They are much more addicted to ardent spirits than the copper-coloured race, and the chiefs eagerly purchase them from foreign traders. Some have learnt to distil a spirit from sugar-cane and bananas, after the manner of the Tahitians, but the art is not generally known. They are said to be good-tempered in their cups, from which we may give them credit for naturally kind dispositions. When Thakombau and Navindi departed from the Havannah in a half drunken state, nobody seemed to apprehend any cruel or outrageous act in consequence.

When unexcited by war, they have the reputation of being social, and even facetious in their manners. Jackson mentions legerdemain and ventriloquism among their accomplishments, and story-telling is one of their great amusements, the qualifications of the relator being estimated by the extravagance of his exaggerations. On this account they have been said to have an unconquer-

able habit and love of lying, which I do not believe. Indeed, I found both Thakombau and Navindi so open to appeals to their good faith as chiefs, as to convince me that they had a due appreciation of the virtue of truth. That the common people, whose lives depend on the momentary caprice of the chiefs, should, like all slaves, be deceitful when likely to profit by it, is not to be wondered at, nor as long as wars, for some of the purposes above described, shall be habitual, is it to be expected that treachery will not be added to their other vices.

Although the interior of a Feejeean house is often dirty in appearance, principally from the smoke of a fire, which is almost constantly kept burning in the central apartment, their love of personal cleanliness (if we except the habit of daubing the face with red ochre or vermilion and black lead) is not inferior to that of the more refined Polynesians, and their delicacy in some other respects would certainly put most Europeans to the blush.

Scanty as is the usual dress of both sexes, being, as mentioned before, only a maro for the men, and a narrow petticoat, called "liku," for the women, the wearing it is as much insisted upon as a matter of decency as if it were composed of the many garments of civilized life; nor would such a spectacle as a perfectly naked man or woman be tolerated for a moment. Their ornaments are few, consisting generally of a species of clam-shell, ground to a circular form and suspended from the neck, or occasionally a string of cowries, or a boar's tusk; the lobes of the ears are often pierced, and a shell inserted in the orifice. At Lakemba I saw a woman wearing in this manner an old reel for cotton. On great occasions the higher chiefs wear two of the beautiful orange cowries, (the Cypræa aurora,) which are much prized, and sometimes lent to a friend, to enable him to make a figure at a ceremonious feast. Thakombau had intended to present me with a pair of these shells, but they had been lent for

some purpose of this kind, and were not returned by the borrower previous to our sailing. Their habit of frizzing out and dyeing, partially or wholly, the hair of the head with lime-washes, has been mentioned before. So necessary is a good mop-head considered to appearance, that wigs, made of human hair and not to be distinguished from the natural growth, are frequently met with. Navindi sent me two to Ovolau, the backs of which were stained of a light brown, the fronts being cut into a peculiar furrowed shape, which seemed to be the fashion of the day: they were accompanied by a head-dress of cocks' feathers, fastened to long pins to stick into the hair. A long beard, very carefully attended to, is also considered a great addition to manly beauty. Thakombau during his stay on board, used frequently to retire to the looking-glass to arrange his beard and turban. The latter, the "sala," worn only by chiefs, although they often appear without it, is made of native cloth of the fineness of gauze. As one of these lasts but two or three days, they seem to keep a large stock ready made, and numbers were procured by us, neatly folded up into lengths of about fifteen inches, and an inch broad. The long trains worn by the chiefs on occasions of ceremony are laid aside ordinarily, but their usual maros are in general somewhat less scanty than those of the common people.

Although evidently considering themselves a superior people to the Tongans, the Feejeeans do not hesitate to acknowledge that they are indebted to the former for the introduction of most of the useful arts and manufactures, although their own superior intelligence has enabled them to improve upon their original models.

One of the principal employments, which has now been entirely transferred from Tonga to Feejee, on account of the exhaustion of the building materials in the one place and the profusion in the other, is the construction of large double canoes. The necessity of this supply induces the

Tongans, who, from their windward position, start for their voyage under favourable circumstances, to flock to the smaller islands, where the timber required (called by the Feejeeans "vesi") is most readily procurable. As a period of six or seven years is necessary to complete their vessels, many of them, becoming habituated to Feejeean manners, never return, but, maintaining a kind of independence, attach themselves to some one of the more powerful chiefs. The Tongans are considered better sailors than the Feejeeans, but the latter are said to be fast improving, the art of beating to windward, and of reefing or reducing the sails to suit the force of the wind, being now understood, which was not formerly the case. They have no fast paddling canoes like the Tahitians and Samoans, their mode of propulsion being slow and awkward, performed as it is by one or two large sculls, pushed by men in a standing posture, the steering being effected by a large paddle over the quarter of the vessel.

Their arms, consisting of bows and arrows, spears, and clubs of different shapes and lengths, as they are intended for striking or throwing, are by far heavier and more destructive than any we have yet seen in the Pacific, although, on the sea-coast, fire-arms are rapidly superseding all, especially bows and arrows, which are now seldom seen in the hands of a Feejeean. No man of any position, however, moves about unarmed, a club with a flat blade resembling a paddle, and called "airu," being generally carried by a chief.

Their cloth is stronger, and the patterns with which it is stained of a bolder design, than the Tongan; indeed, some of these might be copied with advantage by European manufacturers; and their sennit and cordage of cocoa-nut fibre are brought to great perfection, the useful being apparently more carefully combined by them with the ornamental, than by their neighbours.

An art for which they are not indebted to the latter, and which distinguishes them from all the Pacific islanders,

with probably the single exception of the New Caledonians, a similar but ruder people, is that of the fabrication of pottery, which has already been mentioned. Whence these two people acquired their knowledge of a similar art, although the article produced by the New Caledonians is very inferior to that of the Feejeeans, I have never heard surmised, but the fact would seem to indicate former intercourse, if not a common origin.

The climate of the Feejees does not seem to differ much from that of the Samoan islands; and though too hot for comfort, at least on the sea-coast, is not unhealthy for English constitutions. The prevailing winds are the same as already described among the other portions of this ocean, the trade-wind generally blowing from a S.E. direction from March or April till November; N.W. winds and hurricanes (the latter said not to be so severe as to the eastward) occurring at intervals during the remaining months of the year. The latter are reported to commence at N.E., veer to N.W., and moderate at W., which shows a N.-Easterly progressive direction. If this be the case, the area of these storms would not include the Tongan islands, although they would probably be the same as those which pass over the Samoan group. Simultaneous observations at all these places can alone determine questions of this nature.

Earthquakes are not unfrequent, and the month of February is said to be that in which they are oftenest experienced. Captain Wilkes states, that, although many extinct craters exist, the only traces of volcanic action found by the expedition were at Savu-Savu, a few miles to the E. of Nandi, where there are some remarkable hot springs, which are made use of by the islanders for cooking their food. Almost all the islands we saw, had lofty picturesque peaks, and the soil of decomposed volcanic rocks, both on the hills and in the plains, appeared to be of exuberant fertility; that of Vanua-Levu—the second island in

point of size—being perhaps the least so. The following statement, by the missionaries, of the progress of European vegetables will show to what extent and with what ease they may be produced:—

"Of turnip, radish, and mustard seed, after being sown twenty-four hours, the cotyledon leaves appear above the surface. Melons, cucumbers, and pumpkins spring up in three days; beans and peas make their appearance in four. In four weeks from the time of planting radishes and lettuce are fit for use; and in five weeks marrowfat peas."[1]

Having had no botanist on board, I am unable to give any particular account of the native vegetable productions further than that they resemble those we had previously met with. Immense quantities of yams are produced, and taro is carefully cultivated by means of irrigation, the ditches of the fortified villages being used for this purpose both at Lakemba and Levuka. One fruit, resembling the leechee of China, and called here the "dava," or "andava," is supposed to be peculiar to the Feejees, and a few plants were procured for the Sydney Botanical Garden.

We were told that they cultivate tobacco extensively, but did not see it; and they grow both sugar-cane and the "tacca," manufacturing small quantities of sugar and arrowroot. The mountains of Ovolau are densely wooded; and we saw on the lower grounds magnificent trees of the tamanu. The vesi, a hard, dark-coloured wood, is found chiefly among the windward islands; but I most regret having been unaware of the existence of a "dammara" resembling the kauri of New Zealand, and suitable for masts of small vessels, until we had quitted the islands. The sandalwood, which first drew the attention of Europeans to the Feejees about the end of last century, and which was formerly abundant about Bua, in Vanua-Levu (called Sandalwood Bay in consequence), may now, for the purposes of commerce, be considered as exhausted, although specimens may be procured without difficulty. Several

[1] Lawry's Friendly and Feejee Islands, Appendix, p. 263.

pieces of large growth and good quality were given to me at the place in question, by the Rev. Mr. Williams.

Cocoa-nut oil, which is made at irregular times and in uncertain quantities, tortoise-shell, and trepang, the supply of which is said to be failing, are the only articles at present suited for foreign commerce. A few small vessels belonging to Sydney occasionally procure part of a cargo of the former, and one or two American traders engross the traffic in the latter commodity, for the drying and preparing of which for the Chinese market (a process which must be carried on in large houses on shore) the masters possess establishments under the protection of some powerful chief. The Feejeeans have a decided turn for commerce, a constant internal trade being carried on in their own canoes, which we constantly saw either arriving or sailing, heavily laden with bales of cloth, rolls of cordage, and quantities of earthen pots. The great objects of desire on the part of the chiefs are arms and ammunition, but spirits and tobacco are beginning to be considered almost necessaries of life; and iron tools, articles of clothing, and glass bottles, are much valued and sought after. As yet they seem to have very little notion of the value of money, which is rather remarkable, as they have had, ever since anything has been known of them, a species of currency of indeterminate value, in whales' teeth, which I fancy they acquired from the Tongans. Mariner gives instances of the extravagant value formerly set on these,[1] which, before the islands were frequented by whale-ships, were only to be procured when accident allowed a dead whale to drift on shore. As their communication with foreigners increases, this currency will doubtless yield to a metallic one. One or two of the more civilized chiefs already possess small decked vessels; and Thakombau I understand was in treaty with a Sydney merchant for the purchase of a schooner of considerable size, the price of

[1] Mariner's Tonga, vol. i. pp. 312, 313.

which was to be paid by instalments of cocoa-nut oil and trepang.

Their eagerness to acquire articles of foreign manufacture, at any cost of human life, has been the cause of many attacks on strangers, and the occasional capture and plunder of their vessels. The cases of which we heard the most were the massacre, in 1834, by a chief of Rewa, named Vendovi, of eight men belonging to an American brig, the Charles Doggett, whilst employed on shore in drying trepang, the object being the seizure of the brig, which was fortunately saved by the master; and that of the Aimable Josephine, in the same year, by the chiefs of Viwa. M. d'Urville's retaliatory proceedings in consequence of the last-named event have been related before (p. 198), and to punish the former outrage Captain Wilkes, in 1840, seized Vendovi and carried him off prisoner to New York. A lamentable affray, in July of the same year, with the people of Malolo, one of a group of small islands to the westward of Viti Levu, cost the United States Exploring Expedition the lives of two officers, Lieut. Underwood and Mr. Henry a midshipman and nephew of the commander, and induced on the part of Captain Wilkes an attack on their town, which was destroyed, fifty-seven of the natives being killed, without a casualty on the side of the Americans.

A later example of hostilities by a foreign ship of war had occurred but a few months previous to our visit: Captain Worth, of Her Majesty's ship Calypso, having stormed and burned the town of Nundavau, on Viti Levu, to punish the death of two white men (an Englishman and an American) who were reported, whilst trading with the people, to have been treacherously murdered for the sake of their goods. The district being tributary to Bau, an attempt had been previously made, through the instrumentality of Navindi, to induce the chiefs to surrender the actual perpetrators of the crime, but it was unsuccessful;

although it allowed the inhabitants to remove their women, children, and valuables, leaving only the empty houses to be destroyed. The example, therefore, was not a bloody one, although it served to prove that even a considerable distance from the coast offered no security against the foreigners' arms.

We find the usual discrepancies in the different estimates of the population of the Feejeean group; Captain Wilkes, I know not on what grounds, calculating its amount at 133,500; whilst the missionaries, whose means of gaining information are daily becoming better, insist that the islands do not contain fewer than 200,000, and that probably even 300,000 souls is not an over estimate. Were we to suppose, with Captain Wilkes, that the sea-coasts, as in the other Polynesian islands, are alone inhabited, we might at once, knowing the habitual exaggeration of the first visitors, of the population of savage countries, adopt the smaller number as that most likely to be correct. If any faith, however, is to be placed on the testimony of the people themselves, upon which the missionaries and other white residents rely for information, there are a number of tribes inhabiting the inland districts of the great islands, especially Viti Levu, who, hemmed in by hostile neighbours, retain their ancient manners and dialects, and have never even seen the sea. The question is not one of immediate importance, although, should the latter statement prove to be true, a future acquaintance with these primitive inland tribes will probably afford us curious information on the original language of this people, and may assist us in forming some conjecture as to their origin and migrations.

We heard none of the pathetic lamentations from the Feejeeans in which the New Zealanders, and other Malayo-Polynesians often indulge, on the subject of the gradual melting away of their numbers, although it is difficult to believe that any natural increase can compensate for the

continual drain on the population occasioned by their bloody practices. The missionaries, however, are persuaded that, although these people have always prided themselves on their warlike character, the present wholesale system of slaughter is of recent introduction; nor that, although cannibalism is a very ancient custom among them, did it in former times prevail to the same extent as in these days. Verani, of Viwa, assured Mr. Lawry that

"All the old people, and especially his own father, used to tell him, that these bloody wars, and this eating of one another upon the present enlarged scale, sprang up in their days, and did not obtain to such an extent in the generation before them."[1]

It is to be feared that the aggravation of the previously barbarous state of the Feejees dates with the arrival of the first white settlers, who, although of the lowest and most abandoned class of men, maintained, until the mistake was discovered after a better acquaintance, the character of chiefs, whose example was worthy of all imitation. The introduction of fire-arms, which followed, increased to a great extent the numbers of the slain in battle, and, as a matter of course, the consumption of human flesh as food—a taste for which, for its own sake, probably then arose for the first time among them. It will not surprise any one to be told, that the experience of the missionaries has shown them that after cannibal feasts the chiefs become more ferocious, and that a thirst for blood, so far from being easily satiated, seems invariably to be increased by indulgence.

In contemplating the character of this extraordinary portion of mankind, the mind is struck with wonder and awe at the mixture of a complicated and carefully conducted political system, highly-finished manners, and ceremonious politeness, with a ferocity and practice of savage vices which is probably unparalleled in any other part of

[1] Lawry's Friendly and Feejee Islands, p. 95.

the world. We may, perhaps, be correct in attributing their good points to a natural energy, intelligence, and kindliness of disposition, whilst a system of religion requiring the propitiation of a malevolent spirit, instead of the worship of a Beneficent Deity and obedience to his laws, may account for the often forced aggravation of the worst feelings of our nature.

That the Feejeeans are not destitute of qualities which excite the admiration and attachment of more civilized races, is obvious, not only from the esteem and respect they are held in by their Tongan neighbours, but from the voluntary choice, by many respectable English and Americans, of these islands as a permanent abode. Some of the lower class of whites have even gone so far as to consent to live with native chiefs on a footing little removed from that of menial servants. Captain Wilkes found an Englishman, named James Houseman, domiciled with Tui Drakete, the king of Rewa, and officiating as his cupbearer. Thakonauto had a Spaniard from Manilla as his steward; and another white man has resided for many years at Somo-Somo,[1] as a retainer of the chief of that district.

Jackson, who was well aware of the evil qualities of the Feejeeans, says of them,—

"They are not deficient in courage, manliness, and even humanity, which some people foolishly assert they are entirely strangers to, judging from the long-maintained fashions of the country, instead of scrutinizing their natural feelings, and making allowance for everything that has been created by example. I should say, instead of being deficient naturally, they have a greater share of those qualities than Europeans, as far as I can judge from my acquaintance with them.

"There is one thing I am certain they possess, which, of course, must proceed from humanity, and that is universal hospitality, which some people erroneously attribute to the spontaneous growth and production of their articles of food, &c. I never saw any difference with respect

[1] Lieut. Pollard, in 1850, saw this, or another white man, engaged in oiling the body of the Somo-Somo chief, previous to the performance of a great ceremony at Bau.—Chap. vi., p. 296.

to their good nature and liberality, not even when they were surrounded by the worst of privations, which was very often."

The practice of cannibalism will doubtles be considered by some a sufficient cause for accounting these islanders so low in the scale of humanity, as to place them quite beyond the pale of legal or moral obligations on the part of civilized countries. Jurists have even asserted the right of sovereigns to take up arms to chastise nations "which are guilty of enormous transgressions of the law of nature, *which treat their parents with inhumanity, like the Sogdians, or eat human flesh, as the ancient Gauls.*"[1] But before we condemn these savages to perpetual barbarism on this account, let us consider both how easily has the fear of death induced civilized men to have recourse to the bodies of their fellows for food under certain circumstances, and also how speedily and completely has the substitution of a mild religion for gross and bloodthirsty superstitions, eradicated the habit in other cases. The history of shipwrecks abounds with instances of Englishmen sacrificing one of their number to save the lives of the rest;[2] and any person who is disposed to doubt whether the taste for this unnatural food can possibly be acquired by any but a race of barbarians, is referred to the annals of convict life in our Australian colonies, where a fearful case is recorded of an Englishman, who, having surrendered himself after a lengthened absence from the penal settlement where he had been confined, during which he had been driven from necessity to partake of the flesh of seven of his companions, effected his escape a second time with a fellow-prisoner, whom he enticed to accompany him for the sole purpose of banqueting on his body, fragments of which

[1] See Grotius de Jure Belli et Pacis, lib. ii., cap. xx.; quoted by Vattel, b. ii., chap. i.

[2] See 'A View of the Origin and Migrations of the Polynesian Nation,' by the Rev. Dr. Lang, p. 69, for a curious speculation as to the origin of cannibalism among that race, which he attributes to the necessity of feeding on the bodies of some of their number on the occasion of their first migratory voyages.

were found on his person, whilst a plentiful supply of pork, bread, and fish, was still remaining.[1] There are even instances where the feeling of curiosity has been sufficiently strong to overcome the loathing with which the thoughts of tasting human flesh is supposed always to inspire Europeans. We have only to refer to the visit paid by M. Gervaise to Tanoa, mentioned above,[2] in which he records the desire of some of his boat's crew to taste human flesh; and Mr. George Forster, after relating a spectacle of the kind witnessed in New Zealand by Captain Cook and all the crew of the Resolution, says, with reference to the impression produced on the bystanders,—"It operated very strangely and differently on the beholders. Some there were who, in spite of the abhorrence which our education inspires against the eating of human flesh, did not seem greatly disinclined to feast with them. . . On the contrary, others were so unreasonably incensed against the perpetrators of this action, that they declared they could be well pleased to shoot them all. . . A few others suffered the same effects as from a dose of ipecacuanha,"[3] &c.

Our experience in New Zealand has proved that this unnatural propensity can be eradicated from the habits of a whole savage nation, in the course of a single generation. I have heard it asserted that there did not exist in 1845 many New Zealand males of twenty years of age who had not, in their childhood, tasted of human flesh; yet it is perfectly well known that at the present time the occurrence of a single case of cannibalism, in any part of those islands, would attract as much notice as in any country of Europe; and that, when a native can be induced to talk on the subject, his information is given reluctantly, and with an unmistakeable consciousness of degradation, and a

[1] Report on Transportation, House of Commons, 3rd August, 1833, Appendix, p. 313.
[2] Page 257.
[3] George Forster's Voyage round the World, vol. i. p. 512.

feeling of shame that he and his countrymen should ever have been liable to such a reproach. Even in the Feejees, a faint denial is now generally given to any questions as to the existence of the practice, and care is taken to conceal cases which do occur, from the missionaries and respectable white residents. On the occasion of a great feast at Bau, on the bodies of some of the Rewa people, with whom they were then at war, Mr. Calvert found on the shores of Viwa one or two corpses, intended for the heathens of the island, sunk in the water by stones, that they might be smuggled into the village under the cover of night; and it is also quite understood by the people of Levuka, that no sacrifice or feast of the kind is to take place in the neighbourhood of the white community.

It must not be inferred, from the slowness of the missionaries' progress among some of the tribes, that the people are not capable of ultimate civilization. The very pertinacity with which they cling to their old customs, even against their convictions, is owing to a much greater firmness of character than the more effeminate races of the eastern Pacific possess, and is a sure earnest that, when their present religious system shall be reversed, as great pains will be taken by them in the cultivation of the virtuous feelings of the heart, as they have hitherto taken to extinguish them. To show the energy and courage they display in spreading and defending the new religion when once adopted, it is only necessary to refer to the case of the Christian chief of Viwa, who, on the occasion of the daring visit of Mrs. Lyth and Mrs. Calvert to Bau, braved the fury of a population drunk with blood, which could not but regard him as an apostate; as well as to the determination of the Nandi Christians to defend the life of their minister and their own rights, against the overwhelming power of their enemies.

I have more than once alluded, in my journal, to the judgment displayed by the missionaries in dealing with

this people, which has had the effect of inspiring an habitual feeling of respect towards them, as well as of raising the estimate of the white men's character generally over all the islands, and of inducing a belief, even among the heathen vulgar, of the superior power and endowments of their protecting deity. This feeling causes a respectable white man's opinion to be always listened to with attention, and has put their personal safety on a much more secure footing than that of the natives themselves,—a result which coercive measures, had they been always practicable, could not have produced. Even in instances where grievous offences have been committed against the persons of white men, and when our ideas of justice seemed to require the punishment of the offenders, it may be questioned whether attempts at retribution, for the sake of example, were the best mode of securing the desired effect of future prevention. To a people habitually engaged in war, and, from the constant sight of blood, indifferent to human life, an occasional example of the kind was not likely to be very impressive, appearing, as it did, to be a mere act of revenge rather than the punishment of an offence, and, as such, to be retaliated on their parts whenever an opportunity might offer. The approval of the neighbouring chiefs of such proceedings, which was generally obtained, offered no proof of their justice, as the former were well enough pleased to see the power of their rivals reduced without any sacrifice of their own means or popularity; whilst a whole community, often, perhaps, from a mistaken feeling of generosity in refusing to surrender the culprits, paid the penalty of the offences of a few.

That the exertions of the Wesleyan mission have not been without results, a recapitulation of their principal and auxiliary stations will show. Clergymen of the mission are at present established at four stations—viz. the small island of Lakemba, among the windward group, that of Viwa, close to Bau, and commanding the eastern

coast of Viti Levu, and Bua and Nandi, on the south side of Vanua Levu; the two latter stations having been established after the abandonment (which it is hoped will only be temporary) of Somo-Somo.

According to the late Mr. Hunt's statement to Captain Worth, the number of native preachers divided between the smaller stations of Ba, Ragi-Ragi, and Hakoratamba, on the western side of Viti Levu, amounted at the end of 1848 to sixty, and of teachers to one hundred and five. The small islands of Ono and Vitoa, or Turtle Island, lying considerably to the southward of the body of the group, but inhabited by the same race of men, and those of Namuka and Oneata among the windward islands, were entirely christianized. The whole number of attendants on public worship in the Feejees, was calculated at 3280 persons, distributed among thirty-four chapels and twenty-two other preaching places; and the day-schools numbered forty-seven, supplying instruction to 2064 scholars.

As a strong disposition was showing itself on the part of some of the powerful chiefs, at the head of whom we may place Thakombau, to adopt the Christian tenets, which would certainly be followed by the adherence of many thousands of dependents, great anxiety was expressed by the missionaries for an increase of their numbers, which might enable them to overtake the immense additional labour which this important event would entail upon them; and the education of the half-caste children at the white men's settlement of Levuka, an object of very great importance, was only delayed from the impossibility to furnish a teacher.

After all that has been said, it would be a waste of time to dilate on the disinterestedness of the motives which have impelled men to face the horrors and dangers to which the missionaries are exposed among the Feejees, or on the zeal, courage, and moderation with which they

fulfil their self-imposed duties; nor could even those who deride their motives, refuse to acknowlege that, without any reference to the question of religious truth, the effect of their residence and exertions has been to give a general feeling of confidence in the ordinary intercourse between the natives and foreigners, laying the foundations of a more extended and valuable trade with these productive islands. The certainty that a line of communication will soon be opened between the whole of the western coasts of America, and our gold-producing colonies in Australia, to the success of which a series of intermediate points is necessary, of which the Feejee islands will probably be one of the most important, renders this prospect no longer one of distant speculation, nor the conversion of a people, to whom we must be indebted for many useful supplies, from a fierce barbarism to a rational civilization, a question of mere sentimental fancy.

It must, however, be remarked, in fairness to the missionaries now employed in effecting this change, that, if we take our opinion of the soundness of their objects and judgment from the accounts published by the historians selected from their own body, we are not likely to form a just estimate of either. To say nothing of a phraseology which is always repugnant to English readers of ordinary taste, some of the accounts lately published by members of the Wesleyan body, who, leading for the greater part of their time easy lives in New Zealand, consider a periodical visitation of their working brethren a task of severe hardship, are so full of exaggerated accounts of the ordinary dangers and privations of a sea voyage, unfounded insinuations of a want of sympathy and protection on the part of the small naval force in these seas, and aggravations of the difficulties under which the business of the mission is carried on, as to repel the reader who desires information on subjects of more interest and higher importance; whilst tedious accounts of love-feasts, and of

miraculous interferences in favour of the Christians against their spiritual enemies, might almost induce one to suppose that the effect of missionary success would only be the supplanting of the old superstitions of the natives by almost equally gross delusions of their own.[1]

Happily, it may be asserted that such an impression would be wholly erroneous; and if (as we may venture to hope) some well-informed members of the Wesleyan body shall be persuaded hereafter to detail, in simple style and plain language, the occurrences which pass daily under their own eyes, we shall then be better able to judge of the greatness of their exertions, and their extraordinary success with the people. Whether it be the intention of the Great Disposer of events that the objects of their benevolent labours are to be permitted to occupy, as civilized men, the pre-eminent position they have held among their fellows as barbarians, or whether, like the more effeminate Polynesians, they be destined to melt away mysteriously before the advance of the English race, is one of those inscrutable problems it is vain for us to speculate upon, but the solution of which we must be content to leave to the experience of future generations.

[1] See Lawry's two Missionary Visits to the Friendly and Feejee Islands, in 1850 and 1851, especially Voyage 1st, p. 20, and Voyage 2nd, p. 83.

Thakombau, Chief of Feejee, without the "*sala*," or turban.

CHAPTER VI.

Reasons for the Bramble's cruize — Lieut. Pollard at Nukulau and Bau — Effects of the visit — Peaceful professions of Thakombau — Death and funeral of Navindi — Visits of foreign vessels — Wrecks — Extracts from Lieut. Pollard's journal.

Some months after the Havannah had returned to Port Jackson from the cruize among the islands, accounts were received of an occurrence which induced me to despatch Lieut. Pollard in H. M. Schooner Bramble to the Feejees. It appeared that a short time before our arrival at those islands, in August, 1849, Mr. Fitzgerald, an Englishman residing at Nukulau, in the territory of Rewa, had, in conjunction with a Mr. Williams, the United States consular agent at the same place, hired from the chief Thakonauto (generally known as Mr. Phillips) the services of about twenty of his slaves, for the purpose of establishing a trepang-fishery on the northern end of New Caledonia, whither the party was conveyed in two vessels belonging to Sydney. Their operations having been conducted with the usual disregard of the rights of the natives of the country, the latter became hostile, and, watching their opportunity, seized one of the vessels

(a small cutter, named the Mary), on board of which a New Caledonian chief was at the time detained as a hostage, as well as one or more women, who had been forcibly taken possession of, and massacred the three or four men composing her crew. Mr. Fitzgerald in consequence returned to Sydney in the only remaining vessel, leaving his party of Feejeeans, with a small stock of ammunition, under the charge of an American man of colour, who, finding the natives determined to oppose their settlement, retreated with slight loss upon a district named Yengen. The French Bishop of Amata, who had lately arrived there to make a second attempt to establish a Roman Catholic mission in New Caledonia, with great kindness forwarded them to Aneiteum of the New Hebrides, where they suffered severely from sickness. One of the Feejeeans, having (it was supposed in a fit of delirium) made a desperate attack on an Englishwoman, the wife of a man in the employ of Mr. Paddon, was killed, and his body eaten, by the Aneiteumese, and the remainder, now reduced in number to twelve or thirteen, were sent by Mr. Paddon to Sydney, where they arrived in a deplorable condition, but were kindly treated by the colonial government, who lodged them in the public hospital. Thinking the opportunity a favourable one for renewing an intercourse with the Feejees, and especially with Thakombau, I directed Mr. Pollard, who had been second lieutenant of the Havannah in our cruize in 1849, in addition to other duties among the islands, to convey these men to Nukulau, proceeding afterwards to Bau, to express to Thakombau, to whom the former place is subject, my disapproval of such a practice on the part of any of his dependents as hiring their slaves to foreigners for the purpose of making hostile inroads on another country.

Although several of the party, whom death had further reduced to nine, were received on board of the Bramble in a state of great emaciation, Mr. Pollard succeeded in

reaching his destination with only one death on the passage; previous to which occasion, he had to exert his authority to prevent the yet living body of the sufferer from being thrown overboard by his companions, it being evidently repugnant to Feejeean customs to permit the spirit to take its departure by any but violent means.

Mr. Pollard, who anchored in the harbour of Nukulau on the 10th June, 1850, was very unfavourably impressed with Thakonauto, whom he found residing at a village on the coast, named Nukui, a few miles to the eastward of the island and harbour of Nukulau, having been driven from Rewa by the hill-party under his own brother, with whom he is at war.

The chief expressed no regret at the loss of his countrymen, for whose services he had been promised a musket a-piece, merely intimating that if Mr. Williams did not pay him for the whole number he would be revenged. Mr. Pollard considered this chief, although speaking English with tolerable fluency, to be a drunken and debauched cannibal. Of the latter propensity he made no secret, boasting—probably only from bravado—of his having killed a hostile chief two days before, and inviting Mr. Pollard to taste human flesh.[1]

After executing his commission at Nukulau, Mr. Pollard made sail for Bau, arriving, happily for the cause of humanity, at the very period, so much dreaded by the missionaries, of the arrival of the Somo-Somo chief and people, to pay their periodical tribute. It will be seen by Mr. Pollard's account of the ceremony, and the circumstances attending it, that by his energetic remonstrances, seconded by the exertions of Mr. Calvert, he induced Thakombau to perform his promise to me, of permitting no sacrifices to be offered by his own people on this oc-

[1] We have since heard of this chief's death. His funeral took place at Bau, to which he was a "vasu," and one only of his wives was strangled on the occasion. His death will probably put an end to the civil war in Rewa.

casion, although it was supposed that the bodies of three of Tui Levuka's enemies (the Livoni), who had been slain in battle, and transmitted to the capital as presents, were handed over to the sanguinary visitors, who, previous to leaving their own homes, had banqueted on the select portions (the thighs, legs, and arms) of no fewer than seventy slaughtered enemies.

The mitigation of the barbarities usually practised at the capital town on these occasions was not the only good achieved by the Bramble's visit, as Tui Levuka, stung by the coolness of the reception given him by Mr. Pollard, as the only chief of our acquaintance who had sanctioned a practice known to be so abhorrent to our feelings, repaired a few weeks later, with ten of his people, to Mr. Calvert, and openly embraced Christianity, a step which has, in every instance hitherto, been followed by the absolute renunciation of cannibalism. A peace was also concluded between Tui Levuka and the Livoni, through the mediation of Elijah Verani, the Christian chief of Viwa. The ceremony of the ratification, according to the custom of Ovolau, was performed by the two parties meeting together, fully armed, when, a few roots of taro having been planted by one party, and suffered to remain undisturbed by the other, the reconciliation was supposed to be completed.

Mr. Calvert, in a letter of the 7th September, 1850, mentioning these circumstances, adds,—

"The powerful attack made by Mr. Pollard, which I vigorously followed up, has left an indelible impression against cannibalism. The chief and people are astounded. They say they could have borne up under our reproofs, but they fear that they are culpable of gross evil when commanders of ships-of-war show such hatred of the practice.

"A few days since Tui Viti (Thakombau) desired me to see the chief Phillips (Thakonauto), in order that I might prevail upon him to become Christian, that hostilities might cease in the Rewa dominions. In Bau, he remarked, there are no hindrances to their at once and altogether abandoning heathenism."

Mr. Calvert mentioned, also, that a piece of land for a mission-station had been allotted and cleared in the immediate neighbourhood of Bau, a concession which had hitherto been steadily resisted.

"It must be considered a curious testimony to the belief of these islanders in the pacific influence and obligations of the Christian religion, that such a chief as Thakombau, himself a heathen, should recommend its adoption, when his interests were to be advanced by a peaceful policy, which, as he must now have nearly completed his conquests, will ere long best serve him in consolidating his power.

A notion that its profession in his own person would interfere with some of his ambitious projects, yet remaining to be completed, and perhaps weaken his domestic authority, seems to operate in delaying the event, which would assuredly sound the knell of cannibalism and other barbarous practices in the Feejee islands. Already it is evident that, although the old savage propensities occasionally break out in this extraordinary man, his general habits, both of thought and action, are becoming gradually softened.

Since the Havannah's departure, Bau had been almost constantly engaged in war with a district of Viti Levu named Verata, the principal town of which, hitherto considered impregnable, they had succeeded in taking. The inhabitants had been driven into a strong town, named Naloto, which was accordingly doomed to destruction; but, upon Mr. Calvert's intercession, Thakombau gave permission for the people to be brought to Viwa, and their lives to be spared, on condition of his being permitted to burn the place. Very little disposition was shown to trust the chief's newly-acquired habits of clemency, although his professions were believed by the missionaries to be perfectly sincere, and the result was still doubtful.

In one of the battles during the Verata war, our friend

Navindi, the chief of the fishermen, was killed by a musket-shot. His body was brought to Bau, where the funeral ceremonies were performed, not omitting the odious one of strangling several of his women. A remarkable instance of the indifference to life of the Feejeean women occurred in this case, Navindi's principal wife's mother having voluntarily suffered death in the place of her daughter, from whom, being in her first pregnancy, a male heir to the chieftainship was hoped for. The only condition made by the victim was, that the ceremony of strangulation should be performed by the hands of Thakombau, her near relation, which was actually done, although the chief afterwards told Mr. Calvert that, had he been present, the sacrifice should not have been consummated. He proved his desire to discourage the practice during the time the Bramble lay at Viwa, having, in consequence of Mr. Pollard's remonstrances, refused his consent to the strangulation of the wives of a chief whose death was hourly expected, and the ceremony was consequently, for the first time in a heathen family, omitted. A few months later, Thakombau also, after some solicitation, interposed his authority to put a stop to a meditated attack on the Christian town of Dama, near Bua, on Vanua Levu, by the heathens occupying a fifty-mile extent of coast on that island, thus redeeming the promise he had made me in August, 1849.

The islands had been visited by two foreign ships of war—her Majesty's ship Daphne, and the United States sloop-of-war Falmouth. Captain Fanshawe, of the former, bringing with him Mr. Consul Pritchard from Samoa, called at all the principal stations; and even conveyed Thakombau to Rewa, with the humane intention of establishing peace between Thakonauto and his brother. His intercourse with the islanders was of the most friendly and gratifying nature, and he was said to have made everywhere a very favourable impression.

The Falmouth arrived at Ovolau in March, 1851, and afterwards proceeded to Nukulau, for the purpose of procuring the liberation of a young man, the son of a wealthy American citizen, who had been detained in the Rewa country by the chief of the hill-party, but had recovered his liberty and quitted the Feejees previous to the Falmouth's arrival. Captain Petigru, her commander, here performed an act of retributive justice, which he hoped would tend to the security of American citizens in future. A few months before, a man residing at Nukulau, named John Forster, said to be a Scotchman, but claiming the protection of the American flag, and in the employ of Mr. Williams, the United States consular agent, had been killed by the mountaineers, in revenge, it was supposed, for the massacre of some of their number by Thakonauto, Mr. Williams's friend and patron. The man who struck the fatal blow having been secured, was brought to trial before a court of six officers of the Falmouth, found guilty, and executed. Mr. Williams was prosecutor, while our friend Mr. Calvert acted as interpreter and counsel for the prisoner. Several points were urged in his defence, but the court was unanimously of opinion that he should suffer death. Mr. Calvert expressed his conviction that the proceedings were conducted with great care and deliberation, and an evident desire to save the man's life if justice would permit. Captain Petigru, in all his proceedings among the Feejees, seems to have been actuated by a spirit of fairness and impartiality; and he was said to have resisted the solicitations of Mr. Williams to make Thakombau answerable for losses suffered by the former in the course of trade at Nukulau, as well as for debts due by other chiefs of Bau.

Mr. Calvert accompanied the chief on board of the Falmouth, and writes,—"Tui Viti, on being confronted with Mr. Williams, said he would fulfil his own engagements and arrangements; that he would not *prevent* chiefs at Bau

from doing the same, but that he would not be accountable for losses sustained by Mr. Williams in the Rewa district. Commander Petigru fully approved, and our heathen, cannibal, and murderous friend appeared to great advantage."

Two merchant-vessels had been wrecked among these islands about the month of June, 1850. The first, a brig under British colours (the Lady Howden), was lost upon the Ongea Reef, a day's sail to the southward of Lakemba, which island the master and crew all reached in safety, and were afterwards received on board of the Bramble by Lieutenant Pollard, who purchased the wreck and presented it to the mission. No attempt whatever was made against the lives of the crew, but complaints were brought to Mr. Pollard of sundry thefts, &c., which resolved themselves, upon examination, into the detention of a small kedge anchor, which was afterwards restored by some of the Tongans, who, as mentioned before, frequent the windward islands of Feejee, for the purpose of building their large canoes.

The second wreck was that of another brig (the Fanny), bound to Auckland from the Sandwich Islands, said to be on a reef forty or fifty miles from Somo-Somo. The master and crew reached Viwa in two boats, having escaped the supposed evil intentions of some natives of Viti Levu. It is needless to say that they were perfectly safe on the Mission Island, and they were afterwards forwarded to Sydney in a brig (the John Wesley) the property of the mission.

Since March, 1851, I have received no accounts from the Feejees.

Extract from Lieutenant Pollard's Journal of his visit to the Feejee Islands in Her Majesty's schooner Bramble in 1850.

Monday, 20th May, 1850.—At 10 A.M., having received on board nine Feejeeans, being all that remained of twenty-one that left the Feejees in July last year, we sailed from Port Jackson with a fair wind.

On the morning of the 28th one of the Feejee men died. Two or three days before, his comrades had been begging for leave to throw him overboard, for which I thrashed one or two of them, and they never repeated their request to me. We sewed him up in his blanket and I read prayers over him, which ceremony of course they did not understand, although, all being slaves, they seemed surprised at our taking any trouble about him. He had taken medicine almost greedily whilst suffering from fever and ague, which seems a common complaint amongst them. On their first coming on board they could scarcely crawl, lying about the decks wherever they could find a warm spot; but as we got into warmer weather they began to pick up fast, eating their provisions with a little relish to themselves; and latterly I got them to pick oakum and do such like light jobs.

The morning of the 9th of June was so clear that we saw Kantavu, (which is not very high land), at least sixty miles distant, and it is worthy of remark that three days before, being between two and three hundred miles to the southward of it, we passed through a large quantity of small pumice-stone, with barnacles attached, in some places so thick as to discolour the water.

At 8 A.M. on the 10th of June we made Nukulava, a small sand island inside of the reef, thickly covered with cocoa-nut trees, bearing N.N.E. Soon afterwards Nukulau, another small sand island, hove in sight. We anchored in Rewa roads at noon in 8½ fathoms, the American consul's flag-staff on Nukulau bearing S. ¼ E.

I landed on Nukulau soon afterwards, and found some huts in charge of an old man named Forster, who informed me that they belonged to Mr. Williams, who had purchased the island from Thakonauto or Phillips, but was now residing at Viwa, with the chief Namosemalua. A few blacks, one of them a native of America, were also living at Nukulau, and Forster showed me the spot where a couple of men had been lately clubbed to death by the hill party.[1]

War is going on at Rewa between Thakonauto on one side, and his brother, usually called by the whites "the Long Fellow" (his real name is Ngaraningiou), and the hill party on the other. Several attempts have been made by the missionaries, and the captains of ships of war visiting the Feejees, to establish peace between the brothers, but Thakonauto is so treacherous, and his character so bad, that the hill party will not trust him. The latter have of late had the best of the war, and have driven Thakonauto to a small village named Nakui, about four miles to the eastward of Nukulau, but on the main land.

I went thither to see Thakonauto, and found him sitting in his room

[1] Forster was himself shortly afterwards clubbed by the hill party. The perpetrator was given up by the chiefs to the captain of the U. S. ship Falmouth, tried, and executed.

in a half-drunken state, with a number of other men whom I supposed to be chiefs. In appearance Thakonauto was a fine tall, black-looking man, but with a bad debauched-looking countenance. He speaks English fairly, but understands it much better, and has got hold of a number of American witticisms which he brings out on all occasions. I told him I had brought back the remainder of his countrymen who had gone to New Caledonia with Mr. Fitzgerald, and asked him to send a canoe to the schooner for them. He thought for a long time, and at last broke out in a fury against Mr. Williams, saying, "If Williams don't pay me for those men, hah! If Williams don't pay me, well, we'll see, we'll see!!" He evidently did not care a fraction for their death, but I learned afterwards that some of the white residents had been putting him up to ask Mr. Williams an exorbitant price for such men as did not return.

He then ordered kava to be made and handed round, which I tasted and passed to him. He took a large mouthful and squirted it over some of the people sitting near him; and this, being apparently a great man's joke, was received with loud shouts of laughter.

After promising to send a canoe down to the schooner the next day for the men, and to pay me a visit, he accompanied me to the boat, armed with a huge hatchet, on the edge of which he showed me the brains of a chief he had killed a few days before, asking me at the same time if I would have some human flesh to eat. He also offered me some Feejeean rum, which a white man in his retinue makes for him from sugar-cane and bananas, but which, of course, I refused.

On the following day several canoes came to Nukulau, but without Thakonauto, although they beat the drums, &c., as if a principal chief were with them.

The women in the canoes commenced fishing, chiefly with nets, the moment they arrived, some of them going round the point into the entrance of the river, but returning at night. At low water they got from the reefs a quantity of lingula, with bissus attached, which they ate greedily; and I myself picked some shells from the reefs and dredged some very curious mitras. I was afterwards told by Forster that none of the canoes would have ventured to the island for fear of the hill party coming down and attacking them, had not the Bramble been lying there, but that during her stay they felt perfectly safe.

The American consulate is established at a place named Lauthala, in the same bay as Nukulau, but near the mouth of the river on which Rewa, the capital of the district, is situated. Thakonauto had, or affected to have, a very high opinion of Mr. Williams's position, and always spoke of him to me as the "King of the World." To my representation that there were as good people among the whites, the only answer I could get was, "Williams is King of the World, Williams is King of the World. By and by you see," &c.

On the 15th of June we anchored off the Missionary Island of Viwa, where I was received very hospitably by Mr. Calvert and his wife, who informed me that Thakombau had gone to Goro, and would not return for some days. This decided me to execute my orders to visit Bua and Nandi before proceeding to Bau, and I sailed for the former place on the 17th, taking with me Mr. Calvert and the Christian chief Elijah Verani, who was proceeding to Bua for the purpose of trying, by friendly messages, to put a stop to a war which the people of Muthuata, a district on the north side of Vanua Levu, were waging with those of Tavea, a neighbouring island. The provision-grounds of the latter being situated on the main land, the people of Muthuata had taken advantage of their principal chiefs repairing to Viwa to pay tribute to Verani, to whom they are subject, to surround the island and nearly starve those remaining.

Varani had also sent a schooner of his own round to Muthuata for the same purpose, and she returned whilst we lay in Bua Bay, bringing a messenger from the Muthuata chief, who is also tributary to Verani, with a favourable answer, and two green turtle as a present to me.

Finding everything peaceful at Bua, where the Rev. Mr. Williams resides with his family, we sailed on the 21st June for Nandi, where we anchored on the 23rd, having landed Mr. Calvert at a village called Navave, whence he walked across country to the mission premises at Nandi occupied by the Rev. Messrs. Hazlewood and Moore.

From this place I walked with Messrs. Calvert, Hazlewood, Moore, and Dr. Stephens of the Bramble, to So-Levu or Sua-Lib, to have some talk with the chief, who, on a former occasion, had promised Captain Erskine that the missionaries and their property should not be molested. I found the village nearly deserted, some report having got about that we had come to make war on them. The priest was the only man we found, but he sent for the chief, who came and repeated his promises, and we parted very well satisfied on both sides.

The walk from Nandi is not more than 2½ miles, but very hilly.

At 6 A.M. on Wednesday the 26th June we sailed on our return to Viwa, but did not get through the Mokungai passage, having to beat up for it during the whole night, till 11 A.M. on the 27th, when we stood over to the west side of Ovolau, and anchored in Viro Bay in 3½ fathoms.

War was going on in this bay, and our pilot Verani, who had a messenger on shore, was anxious to see some of the inhabitants, but did not succeed, although several of us landed.

During the first part of the night we heard a drum beating a tap-a-tap, tap-tap, tap-a-tap, tap-tap, which Mr. Calvert told me was the death drum, which they always beat at a cannibal feast. I tried the effect of a blue light, and the drums were not again heard, but poor Mr. Calvert and Verani were quite on thorns the whole night.

The next day (28th June) we weighed at 7 A.M., but the wind was so light that we made but little way during the day, and at night anchored off the end of a reef near the south end of Moturiki.

To-day we saw the canoes of the Somo-Somo people, five in number, at anchor off the Moturiki passage, waiting for permission to proceed to Bau, whither they were bound with tribute; and I heard afterwards that the drums had been beating for a cannibal feast on board of these canoes.

Although paying tribute to Bau, the Somo-Somo chiefs are considered very great personages; and on their anchoring between Ovolau and Moturiki, Tui Levuka, chief of the former island, made them a present of two or three bodies taken in war. These bodies were feasted on last night, and for this feast the drums we heard had been beating.

We weighed the following day, 29th June, and, passing to the westward of Thangala and Seluvia, anchored between Viwa and Bau at 3 P.M.—a berth which I chose, not from its being the best anchorage, but as I was anxious to avoid exciting the jealousy of the chiefs of these two places, which the presence of a man-of-war in one bay or the other is said to occasion.

I visited Thakombau, or Tui Viti, soon after anchoring, and found him at dinner by himself, but with several chiefs sitting or crouching near him, which is the native posture of respect. I was struck with the remarkable cleanliness observed in serving his food; the boards on which it was served, like small butchers' trays, were very clean, and covered with banana-leaves, and the food rolled up in small balls and also covered with green leaves. He had several different dishes, each on its own tray, and each removed when finished, by a little boy, who crawled up to it and crawled back again. Lastly, he had water brought to him to wash his hands and mouth, and when he had finished there was a general clapping of hands by all present He invited me to join him, but I declined.

Mr. Calvert accompanied me as interpreter, and, after a few compliments, I made Thakombau a speech, saying how glad I was to visit him again, and to be present at such an acknowledgment of his power as that of the paying tribute by the Somo-Somo chiefs, but begging that, as a mark of friendship towards the Queen of Great Britain, he would not only prevent any human beings from being killed to feast these people, but more, if any bodies were sent as presents, he would cause them to be buried—a step which, I had been told, he had lately taken with several corpses which Thakonauto had presented him with. The first part of my request he complied with; but his answer to the second was that "the bellies of the Somo-Somo people must be the graves of all human bodies sent as presents."

I had to content myself with this answer, the former part of it alone being a great boon, and the first of the sort that had ever been granted, even at a minor feast, to say nothing of the present being the greatest held among these islands, and one dreaded by the missionaries on account of the cannibalism likely to take place.

I also took advantage of a late occurrence to dissuade the chief from continuing the practice of strangling the principal wives of a chief on his death. Navindi, the chief of the fishermen (who had been a great friend of all the officers of the Havannah, and had accompanied Thakombau on his visit to that ship), had lately been shot in one of the native wars, and two of his wives and his principal wife's mother had been strangled on the occasion. The latter had volunteered to be strangled instead of her daughter, who was *enceinte*, as they were anxious to have a principal chief born to Navindi; and she enforced but one condition, namely, that Thakombau himself, whose sister she was, should strangle her, which he did.

I told the chief that his friend Captain Erskine would be very sorry to hear of Navindi's death, but would be much more shocked to know that a ceremony so horrible and revolting to all civilised people as the strangulation of three of his relations had taken place at his burial. Of all these things he promised to think. These requests, which have been made by every captain visiting the Feejees, it was my fortune to reiterate at the remarkable time of the Somo-Somo visit; and I was farther fortunate in procuring a more favourable answer than had been given to any previous applicant. Thakombau even said to Mr. Calvert, "How is it that all the white turangas (or chiefs) who come to the Feejees ask for something for the Feejeeans and nothing for themselves?"

In conclusion: I gave him Captain Erskine's present of a complete stand of arms, one he had long wished for, and which I had been commissioned to present. The chief then promised to pay me a visit on board the Bramble.

After taking leave of Thakombau I walked out in company with Mr. Calvert and Dr. Stephens to see the ceremony of the reception of the Somo-Somo chiefs, who had arrived in their canoes, and were in the act of landing. These people have an old tradition, that their principal spirit, a rat, was, when wrecked in his canoe and refused assistance by one belonging to Somo-Somo, received by some people of Bau, and taken to their city, where, after remaining for three days in nearly a dying state, he was ultimately recovered. He afterwards made Somo-Somo tributary to Bau; and, as a further punishment for their inhospitality, they must approach that city in the most reverential manner, not being even permitted to enter Bau bay without sending a messenger to request permission to approach. They are usually kept there for three days, and then, although the wind is generally fair, they are not

permitted to sail up the bay, nor even to stand up to scull their large canoes, although this restriction they generally evade by having a number of Tongans on board for this purpose. These canoes are double, and about 80 feet long, carrying about 150 men each, and deeply laden with tapa or native cloth, sennit of cocoa-nut fibre, and other articles, as tribute.

On their arrival they ask permission to land, which, after proper consultation, is granted; but their troubles are not yet at an end; they are not allowed to sleep in a house or to wear any clothing for three days; and in going about the town they must do so in a crouching posture, stopping whenever they meet a native of Bau, whether a chief or not, and calling out their "dwa, wa, wa," with their hands clasped between their knees.

All towns have, for the accommodation of visitors, what is called "the strangers' house;" and on the outside of this building in Bau is a large triangular piece of ground, to which all the Somo-Somo people, and the Tongans who accompanied them, resorted. Of the former there were between five and six hundred; and in a canoe belonging to a Tongan chief named Mafu, which had lately been built for him at Somo-Somo, a hundred or a hundred and twenty Tongans. The strangers' house is nearly 80 feet in length and 20 broad, the space in front extending 300 or 400 feet on each side. At the back of the house is the oven used for cooking human victims; and on a tree close to it several scraps of skin like scalps, but from another part of the body, are hung up, several of which I remembered to have seen when here before in the Havannah.

Although the Somo-Somo chiefs are required to pay such reverence to the Bau people, they are not allowed to starve whilst here, every family being ordered, in rotation, to provide for their wants; one finding pigs, another yams, another firewood, and so forth. Each family, before bringing their store into the triangle, musters in one of the bye places, and all in full war-costume, with clubs and spears, and faces blackened and painted, march up two and two, each bearing his basket of provisions, and, laying them down in heaps, file off in as regular a manner as disciplined soldiers.

I saw presented, and laid in heaps of ten, 103 pigs, each weighing about 60lbs., and immense quantities of yams; the chiefs and priest of Somo-Somo sitting down in the mean time outside of the house, apparently quite indifferent to what was going on. Having seen their meal, I was returning to the boat, when, to my surprise, whom should I meet just outside of the triangle but Thakombau himself, carrying a bundle of firewood (it being the turn of his family to provide that article), and smoking a cigar, without the slightest appearance of royalty about him. It was afterwards explained to me, that, although

exercising the supreme authority, he cannot, during the lifetime of his father, old Tanoa, be considered on such an occasion as this one of the old chiefs of Bau, to whom the tribute is actually paid.

I omitted to mention that I had been recommended on landing to pay a visit of ceremony to this old chief, before proceeding to the house of his son. I found him in a small dark apartment, which I had seen on my former visit, seated on the ground, engaged in plaiting sennit. He was old and infirm, being nearly blind, and quite deaf, and very dirty. He received a whale's tooth, which I presented to him, with a very bad grace, as merely his due; and I was not tempted to prolong the interview. Old Tanoa is, perhaps, a singular instance of an aged, worn-out man being allowed to live in this country; but his son, who is said to be sincerely attached to him, will not hear of any proposal to put him to death. It is said that, when that event does occur, which it probably will before long from natural causes, it is intended to sacrifice at least ten of his women; and this event, now that the Somo-Somo feast has passed off so well, is almost the only thing of the kind looked forward to with dread by the missionaries.

The next day, *30th June*, being Sunday, I saw nothing of Bau, but went to Viwa, and remained about the mission-premises all day, in order to hear any complaints the English residents might have to make, but was glad to find there were none, as, in disputes with the natives, there are generally faults on both sides.

Monday, 1st July.—Thakombau paid me his promised visit in a large canoe, bringing his musket and a musket-bearer with him. He remained on board for a couple of hours, and seemed as satisfied to sit on a chest on the lower deck as in my cabin. He brought his son with him, a fine-looking boy, apparently between eight and ten years old, who was a great beggar, wanting everything he saw. I made the chief a small present, and on his leaving, which he did with a couple of bottles of rum, I saluted him with nine guns. He went directly to Mr. Calvert's at Viwa, and whilst there a message was brought to him from Bau, reporting that one of the principal chiefs was dying, and asking permission for his wife or wives to be strangled at once. He refused permission, although the chief died soon afterwards; and I hope this may be the beginning of a change in this vile Feejeean custom.

On his way to Bau he saw a canoe, with some white men in her, capsize, but would not go to their assistance, although begged to do so by Mr. Calvert who was with him. There was some cause, however, for this, as he had carried away the canoe's mast or yard, and she was drifting fast on shore, where his enemies held the beach. A white man, under similar circumstances, would probably have equally obeyed the law of self-preservation.

2nd July.—I was so pleased with the manner the half-caste children

were dressed and kept by their parents at Viwa, that I invited them to come on board to dinner, which they did in three canoes. Three large puddings, sweet biscuits, and tea were given them, which delighted them amazingly. They numbered twenty-seven in all.

3rd July.—This being the day appointed for the payment of the Somo-Somo tribute, I landed with Mr. Calvert at Bau about half-past one, and went to Thakombau's, expecting him to take me with him and do me great honour, but I was much mistaken, for I found the great man asleep, and learned that, as he could not appear as an old chief, he was not going to the presentation. I proceeded therefore to the strangers' house, where the Somo-Somo chiefs were dressing in their "tapa," in preparation for the ceremony. The principal chief, Tuikilakila, was being rubbed over with the candle-wood nut, called in Feejee the "ivi," the operation being performed by a white man! The chief was a fine-looking, well-built, oldish man, with bald head, grey whiskers and mustaches, and a man in appearance whom one could look upon with respect. We exchanged civil speeches through Mr. Calvert, and he bowed me on to the priest, who was also dressing. I then went into the triangular plot of ground in front, where a number of Bau chiefs, men and women, were assembled at the angle fronting the strangers' house, and along another side, which is occupied by the great temple. An immense basket, upwards of thirty feet long, four high, and four wide, and supported by sticks about a foot apart, having been brought to the third side, was then filled with cooked yams and about twenty baked pigs by a number of men evidently appointed to that duty, as every one seemed to know exactly what he had to do. The top of the basket was then covered over with green leaves, and, after the principal actor had called out in Feejeean "It is done," the usual clapping of hands took place. The Somo-Somo people then commenced coming out of the strangers' house, and sat down along its side, in parallel rows, extending nearly to the centre of the triangle; the chief coming out last, and he and the priest taking their places nearly in the middle of the front row. They were all clothed with an immense quantity of white and black chequered tapa, long lengths of which seemed to be brought together by a running string at the neck, and shorter lengths above these, so as to resemble in appearance the capes of a coachman's box-coat, but so deep that when they sat down nothing was visible above the cloth but a man's head. The priest's dress differed from the others in being all white with a red band round the waist; and two large bales of tapa, part of the tribute, were lying in the middle of the place. After all were seated, a Bau chief presented the basket of provisions in a set speech, followed by a clapping of hands, and thanks were returned by the Somo-Somo spokesman, followed by the same ceremony. Then came the presentation of the tribute, which was thus done:—The Somo-Somo messenger, having

slipped off his dress, crawled forward with his hands on the ground, turning himself over and over, and sitting down cross-legged for a few seconds between each turn, until he arrived within a few paces of the other party. He was followed by six or eight more, until a regular file was formed at intervals of two paces between each man. After a short pause, sitting cross-legged and holding his beard with his right hand, his left lying across his legs, he began a speech in short sentences, with occasional interruptions from the Bau people of "Vinaka, vinaka!" (good, good), to the effect that they had come to visit Bau, and offer their presents, &c.; and when finished, he was answered by the Bau speaker standing up, as the position of superiority, who was similarly cheered by the Somo-Somo people. The old chief then walked up to the Bau people with a bundle of whales' teeth, I should think of from eighty to a hundred pounds weight, and apparently as much as he could carry with both hands, and delivered them to the orator, who received and made an oration over them, which I was told was presenting them to the gods, and, having deposited them on the bales of tapa, made a second speech to the same effect with respect to them. The chief of Somo-Somo, who had previously stripped off his robes, then sat down, and removed even the train or covering, which was of immense length, from his waist. He gave it to the speaker, who, as I understood, retained it as a perquisite, giving him in return a piece large enough only for the purposes of decency. The rest of the Somo-Somo chiefs, each of whom on coming on the ground had a train of several yards in length, in addition to one of the same pattern as the rest of the dress, then walked up to the bales, and, stripping themselves entirely, left their trains and walked away. The dresses, which had been left in their original places, were carried to the other bales, thus leaving all the Somo-Somo people naked, and the ceremony apparently concluded. The Bau people then retired, as did all the spectators, including the Tongans under Mafu their chief, leaving the Somo-Somo people, who were as fine-looking men as those of Bau, and more of a sepia colour, to begin their feast, so I returned to the schooner.

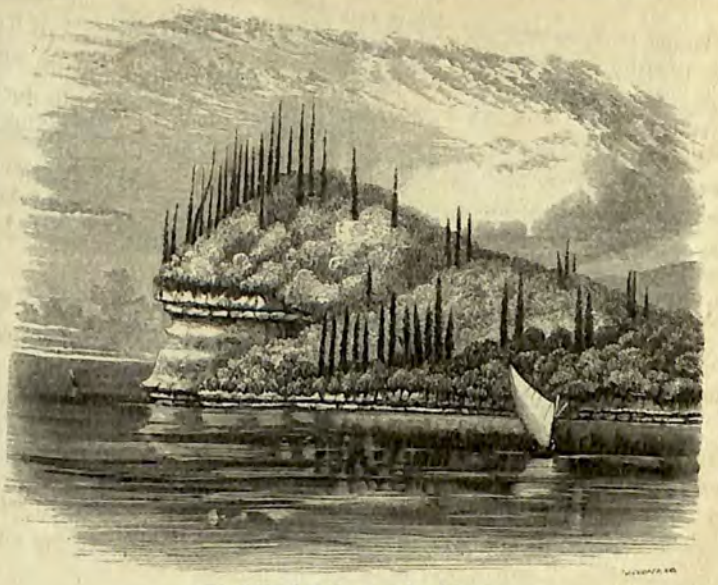
Thus far this much-dreaded feast had passed over without any human sacrifice, or offering of bodies for food; and the missionaries were in hopes that none would take place. In this expectation, however, I am sorry to say, they were disappointed, as I was afterwards informed at Ovolau that two of the bodies of Tui Levuka's enemies, which he had sent as presents to Bau, probably arrived there on the afternoon of Thursday, after I had sailed. The canoe containing these bodies had, when within a few miles of Bau, been driven back by a strong breeze to Moturiki, where one body was eaten, and the other two cooked or baked to preserve them.

Having nothing more to detain me, I bade the missionaries farewell, and sailed for Ovolau on Thursday the 4th July, anchoring off Levuka at 2h. 30m. P.M., where I found five or six small trading-vessels of from thirty to sixty tons, built among the islands and owned by white men. They had lately been employed in procuring a cargo of yams for an American barque, which loaded here with three hundred tons for California. The yams had been principally brought from Kantavu, where they were purchased for one musket a thousand, and sold to the Americans for two; the value of a musket being generally considered ten dollars.

This harbour is so convenient for watering, that I was able to warp off the boats by running a hawser to the shore, the schooner lying in nine and a half fathoms, close to the village.

War was still going on between Tui-Levuka's people and the hill party. The chief himself came off to call upon me, but, having been informed by some of the white men of the present of human flesh sent by him to Bau, I received him very coldly, telling him he need not expect to be treated in the same friendly manner as formerly by officers of men-of-war, and he went away much abashed.

Saturday, 6th July.—We sailed for Lakemba, &c.



Bluff Head, Lifu, Loyalty Islands.

Chap. VII.—THE NEW HEBRIDES, NEW CALEDONIA, AND THE LOYALTY ISLANDS.

Aneiteum—Tana—Port Resolution—The chief Kaiassi—Natives—Arrest of an Englishman—Black Beach—Native Tribes—White Beach—The chief Gaskin—The "Missionary Chief"—Tanese language—Vate—Sandalwood affrays—Massacre of English crews—Village of Sema—Loyalty Islands—Uea—Tradition of migration—Language—The chief Nikelo—New Caledonia—Yengen—The chief Basset—Lifu—Islands off Mare—Keama—Sandalwood trade—Affrays—Massacres—Modes of treating savages—Geography of Loyalty Group—Confusion in nomenclature—Isle of Pines—Sandalwood affrays in New Caledonia—Passage to westward—South-west coast—Examination of the chief Angulla—Different versions of affrays—Jitema bay—Arrival at Port Jackson—Conclusion.

30th August.—Having had a rapid run since we lost sight of the Feejees on the 28th, we made the island of Anēitĕūm,[1] the southernmost of the New Hebridean range, at daylight, and at half-past nine hove-to off its

[1] The orthography adopted for this island is that given by the missionaries of the London Society, and expresses as nearly as possible the pronunciation of the natives. Captain Cook, who heard the name of the island from the people of Tana, spelt it Anāttom, as pronounced by them. In Sydney, &c., where Mr. Paddon's establishment has caused the island to be well known, it is spelt and pronounced Ană-tām, a bad corruption.

south-western extremity, at a spot where a break in the surrounding reef forms the entrance to an anchorage, or, as it may almost be called, a harbour, between two sandy islets and the shore. On the larger of these two islands a flag was flying, indicating the head-quarters of a British establishment, which an enterprising seaman, Mr. Paddon, well known among the sandalwood traders, had formed some years previously.

This gentleman's first appearance in these seas was made in a fine brig, the Brigand (his own property), in which he had been engaged in the opium-trade in China. During his search for sandalwood, a lamentable affray took place in November, 1843, between his crew and the natives of Mare, the easternmost of the Loyalty group, in which no fewer than seventeen of the former were killed, and several wounded. Nothing daunted by this unfortunate commencement, Mr. Paddon determined upon securing a convenient position on shore, whence he might extend his operations, and despatch the sandalwood collected in smaller vessels, direct to the Chinese market. Aneiteum, from the tolerable character of this anchorage, and the peaceable disposition of the natives, seeming fit for his purposes, an amicable settlement was made on the small island mentioned above, and Mr. Paddon had since that time become the owner of several small vessels, and was supposed to be carrying on a lucrative traffic. I had been informed that a white community, amounting to more than fifty persons, had been assembled here in Mr. Paddon's employ; and two missionaries, placed on the island by the London Society, had now resided there for several years.

My original plan for visiting the islands during this season did not include Aneiteum; but finding, when in Auckland, that the Bishop of New Zealand was about to embark on a perilous voyage to the New Hebrides and New Caledonia in a small schooner of little more than 20 tons, and manned by four men, to visit one or two stations, which the members of the London Missionary

Society had been forced to leave in the hands of a few Samoan teachers, and to begin an extended system for the planting of Christianity among the islands of Melanesia, I readily acceded to a proposal to meet his lordship at this place, which he had visited the previous year in Her Majesty's ship Dido.

Whilst rendering him the protection I felt was so justly due to his adventurous undertaking, I was thus enabled to profit by the assistance, which was freely offered, of the Undine's services, as a tender or pilot-boat on coasts to which a few rough sketches, collected from small trading-vessels, formed almost our only guides.

A boat, which had left the settlement on the approach of the ship, came off as soon as we had rounded to, bringing Mr. Pritchard, son of the consul at Samoa, two white seamen, and one or two natives. The latter attracted our attention, as very different in appearance from the Feejeean negroes, being shorter and less athletic, although their colour and texture of the hair was somewhat similar. Their dress, if such it might be called, consisted of merely a wrapper, of a substance resembling tow, hanging down in front in a manner so ludicrous as to defy description.

Mr. Pritchard, who was awaiting an opportunity to join his father at Apia, was the bearer of a letter from the bishop, announcing his departure a few days previously for Tana, the nearest island of the group, to which I determined at once to proceed. The harbour of Aneiteum, by Mr. Pritchard's account, was easy of access, and is, no doubt, sufficiently secure during this season, although, being open from the north-west, it cannot be considered so during the hurricane months. As a proof of this, two wrecks lay on the beach, one of which had gone on shore in the gale of last March, which seems to have been felt over a large extent of this ocean. The other, I was informed, however, was the hull of the Cornubia, an old steamer, lately bought by Mr. Paddon in Sydney for the

sake of the engines, which he was employed in erecting on shore for some purposes connected with his establishment.

The appearance of Aneiteum, which is said to be about 30 miles in circumference, is picturesque, and not unlike that of Ovolau, but without the abrupt detached peaks of the latter. It rises to a considerable elevation in the centre, and is thickly wooded in places. On the shores of the harbour several buildings of considerable size were visible. One, an iron house, was the property of a French Roman Catholic mission, who, having been expelled from New Caledonia, had settled here, with the intention of waiting until more favourable times might enable them to re-occupy their lost ground. Another was a large unfinished store and dwelling-house, on which Mr. Paddon's workmen were busily employed, and for which, when completed, he intends to abandon his inconvenient premises on the small island, a step which the friendly feelings now existing between the natives and the whites renders perfectly secure.

We had remarked a number of whales spouting in all directions as we ran down the coast, the mast-head man having reported no fewer than twenty in the course of a few minutes. Mr. Pritchard told us that an attempt had been made from the settlement, a short time before, to kill a whale, which, from the unskilfulness of the boat's crew, resulted in her destruction and the death of one or two of the men. If the number of fish we saw to-day were not an unusual spectacle, the prospect of success during the winter months, when whaling cannot be carried on in a high latitude, would seem to be worthy of consideration.

At 11 A.M. we bore up N.N.W. for Tana, and at 1 P.M. caught sight of the island, which the haziness of the weather prevented our distinguishing earlier. Shortly afterwards the massive square block of land called Erronan, which, as far back as Captain Cook's time, was occasionally known by its Polynesian name of Fotuna, was seen

bearing N.E., and at 3.30 the low island of Immer, now more frequently distinguished by its more recently-acquired Polynesian appellation of Niua, and placed on all the charts I have seen closer to Tana than it is actually situated, made its appearance, somewhat unexpectedly, nearly ahead.

The clouds still continued to obscure the high land of Tana, and seemed, in places, to mingle with the heavy smoke of the constantly active volcano hanging over the site of Port Resolution. Guided by Sir Edward Belcher's plan, we hauled round the sandy point, overtopped by thick wood, which forms the eastern entrance to the bay, the shores of which, as well as the hilly country beyond, exhibited the most luxuriant verdure—often the evident effects of cultivation. Although many natives were seen on a sandy beach at the upper extremity of the bay, that immediately to our left seemed deserted; but when, after having clued up our sails, the ship still slowly moving up to her anchorage, our men sprang aloft to furl them, a loud screech of surprise betrayed their proximity, whilst, from behind the brown rocks which strewed the shore, dark-brown bodies started up, until several hundreds showed themselves, gazing with delighted surprise at a spectacle which the greater number, if not all of them, beheld for the first time, and which their acquaintance with small merchant-vessels, which they had been accustomed to consider the most powerful structures in the world, probably rendered more astonishing.

As nobody ventured near the ship after our anchoring, I sent a boat on shore to reconnoitre, and she soon returned, bringing a respectable-looking Englishman, named Leonard Cory, acting as an agent for a sandalwood firm, who had resided for ten months in the bay. Two other Englishmen and a boy, who had left, or deserted from, vessels in the trade, among which there is always a great jealousy and competition, accompanied Cory, whose account of his own situation among the people was not discou-

raging as to the establishment of a friendly intercourse with them. He was living in a small wooden house, part of which was adapted for a store for his goods, consisting chiefly of rod and bar iron, axes, muskets, powder, tobacco, and blue beads, of which articles he had landed in November last about 600*l.* worth. The objects for which he bartered were sandalwood and pigs, which latter were sent to Eromango (where, it appears, there is a great demand) to be exchanged for the former commodity. The sandalwood received in the course of his trade was piled up in open sheds, awaiting the arrival of vessels; and neither from these, nor from his store, had he lost an article by theft since his arrival.

The chief of the tribe occupying the eastern side of the bay, and under whose protection Cory was living, was named Kaiassi; and the death of a relation of his, supposed to have been occasioned by witchcraft on the part of the tribe on the western side, had lately been the cause of war between them, which was now going on; a war-party marching out daily to the boundary-line to exchange a few spears or stones, without any very serious result. On the day previous, however, Kaiassi's party had been led by an Englishman named Stephens, who had for several years been roaming about these islands; and as this man was armed with a musket, and understood its use, the fight had terminated in a victory, Stephens having shot one of the opposite tribe. It had been the intention of the chief to follow up his advantage on this day, but the appearance of the ship had turned his attention from his warlike projects, and the resumption of hostilities was postponed. Cory expressed his belief that an expostulation with Kaiassi on my part might have the effect of stopping the war, which, it was obvious, was encouraged by some of the vagabond foreigners; and I promised to talk to him on the following day.

In the course of the afternoon a small canoe, of a

Samoan model, was observed to leave a cove on the western side of the bay, and approach the ship. She was conducted by a missionary teacher, a native of Rarotonga, accompanied by one of two or three chiefs of the island, who were disposed to listen to his instruction. The teacher brought me intelligence that the bishop, after a short visit to Port Resolution, had stood across to Eromango, and would probably return in a day or two, to land another missionary teacher (a Samoan), whom he had taken with him as a guide. The chief, Kuānŭān, was an elderly, good-humoured looking man, and dressed in a shirt; all the natives we could see from the ship wearing only the extraordinary wrapper we had noticed in the case of the two Aneiteumese in the morning.

That some apprehension existed on both sides of the bay of a collision, either with each other or with us, was evident, as, with the above exception, none left the shore, but stood gazing at the ship.

We found, for the first time, the great want of an interpreter, which had hitherto been supplied either by one of the missionaries or white residents. Neither Leonard Cory nor either of the other Englishmen could speak more of the language than barely sufficient to transact their business with the natives. Even our communication with the Rarotongan teacher, whose language resembles the Samoan, was carried on through the medium of John, the carpenter, who had been received on board at Apia, and, although speaking both the Samoan and Tongan dialects with fluency, was so stupid as to make the interpretation of the simplest question or answer a matter of great trouble and uncertainty. The sound of the Tanese language was perfectly strange to him, and I foresaw great difficulty in our future intercourse with these our new acquaintances.

During the night the volcano was seen in full activity over our heads, some of the discharges from the crater lighting up all the outlines of the hills.

31*st August.*—Finding that we were not disposed to annoy them, the natives began to flock on board by degrees, coming off in canoes fitted with outriggers, but somewhat clumsier and heavier than those of Samoa and Tonga. We at once recognised Captain Cook's description of the people as identical with their appearance at the present day. They are generally of short stature, but muscular and athletic for their size; the colour of their skins a shiny black, and their bodies covered thinly with hair, or a kind of down. Some had black or brown crisp hair; but that of the greater number was twisted and tied up into an immense number of thin cords, the ends being frizzed out, about two inches from the extremity, where the colour was a sandy-red. The nose was generally rather flat, and the eyes of a chocolate colour; the ears of almost all being pierced, and flat rings of tortoise-shell and other trinkets hanging from them. They wore universally the wrapper, the end of it being, in many cases, tied up by a narrow band of some kind of plait, passing round the hips, and producing a much stronger effect of indecency, according to our notions, than the total absence of clothing would have done; the more so, when we noticed that this strange garment served as a pocket, wherein to deposit a pipe, piece of tobacco, or any such article that they might obtain by traffic. No women came on board with the men, but several were seen fishing on the reefs which line the eastern side of the bay; and they were dressed in a petticoat reaching to the knees. The features of the men would not have been disagreeable, but for the common custom of daubing their faces with black-lead, to which a thick plastering of red-ochrous earth was generally added; and I was much amused by one fellow, who had made a greater use than usual of this red pigment, walking up to us with great satisfaction, to point out that his colour rivalled the healthy florid glow of my friend Captain Jenner's complexion.

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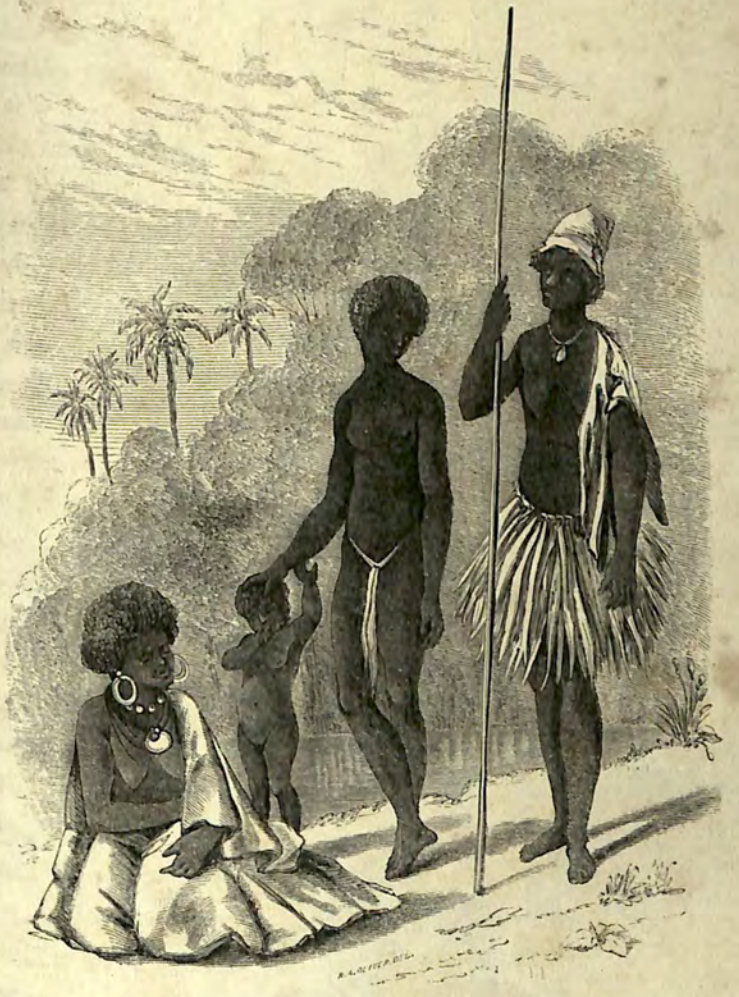


Women of Tana.

They seemed, when once at their ease, very good-tempered, and they carried no arms but bows and arrows, which were of small size, and but little formidable as weapons. One stout little man spoke some words of English with a very distinct pronunciation; and, as I remarked he had a fresh arrow-wound on the hip, received, as he told me, the day before, I sent him down to the surgeon to have it dressed. They brought quantities of very fine yams, for which they gladly accepted axes, tobacco, and large blue beads, or even whales' teeth, out of which some of their ear-ornaments were made. Specimens of their twisted hair they had no objection to dispose of; sometimes allowing a lock to be cut off, or producing a handful of what had probably belonged to an enemy. They liked our biscuit exceedingly, but would not receive it or any other article of food from the naked hand; requiring it, as our friend the missionary teacher told us, to be placed on a leaf or piece of paper, when it was eagerly accepted, and handed round in the same manner to their friends. Mr. Forster, in his voyage round the world with Captain Cook, remarked this custom among the Tanese, which, we were informed, arose from some fear of an evil influence which can be transmitted through the touch; and, it was added, that any prepared food accidentally found in the road is immediately buried, lest it should communicate some evil to the finder.

I went on shore for half an hour, landing near the spot where Cory had established his store, and was very well received by Kaiassi and his people. As the tribe were at war with their opposite neighbours, a proposal to visit some springs at the head of the bay, which Captain Cook describes as so hot as to scald the hand, was considered quite inadmissible, although had I landed at the spot in my boat I should probably have been equally well received by the enemy.

Finding that our communication with the people was

almost limited to signs on both sides, and feeling at the same time a strong desire to be better acquainted, I resolved to run over to Eromango in the course of the night in the hopes of falling in with the Undine, when the bishop's knowledge of the Polynesian languages would enable us, through the interpretation of the teachers, to understand each other better. I went on board accordingly, and got under way with a light wind from the E.N.E. The mouth of the bay being quite open to the northward, this little variation from the ordinary trade-wind had sent in so troublesome a swell, and the tide set so strongly down upon the rocks at the western point of the entrance, that we had great difficulty in weathering them, the breeze having failed us when we were too close to think of anchoring. I was relieved therefore when we saw the rocks astern, and were enabled to shape a course N.W. for Eromango, distant about thirty-five miles.

Before leaving the harbour I sent for Stephens, the Englishman who had led the war-party on the 29th, and, having received from himself an account of the part he had taken in the affray, which had probably caused the death of one of the enemy, but which he considered to be no more than a duty he owed to the chief under whose protection he was living, acquainted him of my intention to remove him from the island. I was desirous of showing to the vagrant English, who, when amongst these islands, fancy themselves above all restraint, that offences wantonly committed here were punishable by our own laws; and although in this case it was not probable that any evidence could be procured which would weigh with a Sydney jury, even in the doubtful case of their considering the murder of a savage a blameable action, yet the inconvenience the culprit would be put to by his removal might operate in some degree as a check upon others, if it were understood that our domiciliary visits were to be annually repeated. The conduct of these reckless men, and the

undisciplined crews of the vessels, who, always permitted to carry arms, cannot be restricted in the use of them, has rendered in many cases the trade in sandalwood, which might not only be much increased, but be the means of civilizing all these races, and opening up fresh channels for our commerce, little better than plundering expeditions, carried on with extreme distrust on either side, and accompanied by no inconsiderable loss of life; and it was to this state of affairs that I was anxious to apply a remedy.

Stephens, although surprised at my thinking the case worth notice, made no opposition to my intentions, merely requesting permission, which of course was granted, to bring his chest from the shore, and to settle some small dealings with his countrymen. The boy mentioned before, a fine-looking lad, but who had already imbibed the blackguard tone of this vagabond class, begged to be received on board to return to his friends at Sydney, which, hoping the discipline of a man-of-war might be useful to him, I agreed to.

As we sailed out of the harbour, the war-party of the eastern side, chagrined, no doubt, at the loss of their warrior, were seen to the number of twenty or thirty, armed with clubs and bows and arrows, marching in single file across the head of the bay to the scene of the daily conflict.

As we knew from good information that the south coast of Eromango is composed of a bold coral rock, we stood close in by the bright light of the moon, and ran down till, at 10 P.M., we were in the mouth of Dillon's Bay, almost the only anchoring ground the shores of the island afford. Having fired a rocket and burned one or two blue lights to attract attention, we shortly discovered a small vessel under sail, which we were disappointed to find was not the Undine, but the cutter Harriet of Sydney, engaged in the sandalwood trade. The master had, however, com-

municated that day with the bishop, who, having passed a short time in Dillon's Bay, had sailed for Tana, so we had to haul our wind on our return.

1*st September*.—At 2.20 A.M. another vessel was reported, which turned out to be the brig Governor, similarly engaged to the Harriet, and, like her, standing off and on during the night, the bad feeling existing between the traders and natives making it dangerous to remain at anchor.

At daylight, having been working to the southward during the night, the extremes of Tana bore from south to east, and at 6.50, when stretching over to the low island of Immer or Niua, the Undine was at last seen under the land. I was happy to hear from the bishop, whom I visited on board of his little vessel, that all had gone well with him since he left New Zealand, but his crew, who had imbibed all the dread of savages felt by the Sydney traders, did not disguise their satisfaction at being at last under the protection of a man-of-war. It must be admitted, at the same time, that the enterprise undertaken by the bishop, who would not permit an arm of any description on board of his vessel, was one of no little risk; and when informed by him that he had permitted several of the Eromangans, whose hostility to white men is notorious, to come on board in Dillon's Bay, I was ready to allow that it required the perfect presence of mind and dignified bearing of Bishop Selwyn, which seemed never to fail in impressing these savages with a feeling of his superiority, to render such an act one of safety or prudence.

The plan of our cruize was soon arranged. After anchoring in an open bay, about twenty-five miles to the northward of Port Resolution, called by the English Black Beach, the native name of the district being Wāākūs, or Lawāākūs, where reports had reached us of an affray within the last few weeks with the crew of a sandalwood

vessel, and where we might complete our water, we were to sail round the whole island of Tana, and again communicate with Port Resolution.

Leaving Eromango for another occasion, we were to run for an anchorage on the south side of Vate (the Sandwich Island of Captain Cook), and then, having reached the northern limit of our cruize, to return to visit the Loyalty Islands, and a port named Yengen, on the north side of New Caledonia, once partially occupied by a French Roman Catholic mission, but now abandoned. The Isle of Pines, at the south-eastern extremity of New Caledonia, and a spot on the south-western coast of the same island, named Numea, the scene of the massacre, in October 1847, of the master and seven men of a Sydney vessel, but the exact position of which we had yet to discover, were to occupy the rest of the time which I could afford to give to the islands during this season.

Followed by the Undine, we bore up accordingly for the Black Beach, and at 7 P.M. came to in fifteen fathoms, about a mile off shore, in a bay quite open to seaward, the extremities bearing from us S. ½ W. and N. by W. Of course every preparation was made for getting under way, should the wind set in fresh on shore, but, as the weather continued beautifully fine, we lay quite quiet during the night. Wild cries were heard from the shore before sunset, and after dark several fires were seen burning at no great distance from the beach, but nothing was seen of the natives themselves.

Sunday, 2nd September.—A canoe with several men ventured on board of the Undine in the morning, but did not as yet dare to approach the large ship. The Bishop preached on board the Havannah to a very attentive congregation, and after service I took him in one of our cutters to the shore, to try and open a communication with the people, several of whom were seen on a rocky eminence overlooking a small cove. They seemed to be pleased at our landing, but

were evidently in a great fright, and it was not without much coaxing that three of them were persuaded to enter the boat. A red worsted comforter, which was given to him who appeared the boldest of the party, excited their cupidity, but did not allay their fears, as they repeatedly asked if they might return when they pleased, and were more than once on the point of jumping overboard to swim back to the shore, as we rowed off to the ship. The principal personage of the three, who were all young men, sat in the stern sheets, laughing and trembling by turns, now and then patting the Bishop or myself on the back, and calling us "Aliki asori" (great chiefs), which he explained was also his own rank, one of his comrades being merely an "Aliki," and the third no chief at all. Arrived alongside, their fears came back upon them, and they would not venture on board, until the Bishop, to overcome their hesitation, stepped into a canoe containing three or four other men, which had followed our boat, when they cautiously mounted the side. The canoe in the mean time had drifted away from the ship, and the crew, getting out their paddles, seemed disposed to carry the Bishop on shore, as a hostage for their chiefs' safety, so that I sent a boat to bring him on board, to which they made no opposition. The treatment the others had received on board had by this time, however, completely established confidence, and the sight of red comforters, and pieces of white calico, which they waved to their friends, soon brought more visitors.

These were the wildest people we had yet seen, their surprise at the various objects and animals, always mingled with fear, being expressed by extraordinary cries and flinging about the right hand, so as to cause the fingers to snap. Pipes and tobacco, the use of which, I learnt at Port Resolution, they had only been acquainted with for a year or two, were in great request, and biscuit, taken as before from a piece of paper, they ate with great relish.

They were in such good humour with their visit, that I had no hesitation in accompanying them on shore to the watering-place, which we found to be a fine stream, which percolated through the shingly beach into the sea, but at a few yards back is sufficiently wide and deep to admit of filling casks rapidly. The people would not take us to their houses, none of which were in sight, although the country showed signs of being populous, the band of trees on the shore forming a foreground to beautifully swelling green hills, covered nearly to their summits with cultivation, excepting in spots where clearings seemed to have been lately made by burning.

3rd September.—Our boats were sent on shore early, and the watering operations went on briskly, our native friends mustering in considerable numbers, and assisting in rolling and filling the casks; so that thirty tons of water was procured in a few hours. No arms were exhibited by our party on shore, but an armed boat was stationed off the beach, in case of any disturbance arising, or any attempt being made to steal the casks. All went on so well, that after breakfast I thought the latter precaution might be discontinued, and several of the officers went on shore to stroll about the beach, being cautioned, however, not to stray far from the boats. The ship had been tolerably full of visitors all the morning, to whom presents of red and white calico, which were always wrapped round the head, were freely given, they bringing few articles of any kind to offer in exchange. The sight of these turbans appeared to have excited the envy of the neighbouring tribe of Lonantum, for reports soon came on board of a fresh arrival of these people, who were not disposed to be so quiet as our Lawaakus friends. Attempts had been made by the new comers to induce some of the officers to go with them into the country, which, being declined at the earnest solicitation of our first acquaintances, who mistrusted the proffered kindness, attempts were made to

steal hats, handkerchiefs, or any articles they could lay their hands upon; and on these attempts being resisted, stones were held up, with apparent threats of occupying the watering-place, and driving away their rivals in our favour. Not being at all desirous of a collision, which could only end in the slaughter of a number of these poor wretches, and our water being nearly completed, I ordered the party to be recalled, and the boats hoisted in. No resistance was offered to our people retiring quietly, nor did anything more serious than threats appear to pass between the contending tribes on shore, the forbearance of the Lonantum people being probably bought by a share in the comforters and calico, with which we observed them marching off after our departure. These disturbances prevented any observations on shore. The position of the ship as she lay in the bay, by meridian altitude of the sun, and chronometer, was lat. 19° 22′ S.; long. 169° 9′ E.

Leaving the ship to follow when ready, I embarked with the bishop in the Undine, and, running down the coast for a few miles, landed at a spot where several natives were seen assembled. We had a long conversation with these people through the interpretation of the Samoan teacher Opokumanu, the subject being chiefly an affray which they had had with the crew of a sandalwood vessel some months before. By their accounts the traders were defeated, and three persons killed in one of the boats; viz. a native of Tana, one of Aneiteum, and a third of Uea, the westernmost of the Loyalty Islands. That some affray, attended with loss of life, had taken place about the time mentioned, in this neighbourhood, was the general report on the island; but such is the secrecy preserved on all such subjects by the traders, that, although suspicion was attached to a particular vessel, I was never able to procure any proof of the occurrence. We were not favourably impressed with the appearance of these people, who seemed to belong to the hostile tribe of

Lonantum. Although obsequiously polite, they were well armed with clubs, and bows and arrows, which they would not part with, although one sold me a fishing-spear for some trifling article, and they also brought a few yams to barter. They were very desirous to know if we had any muskets in the boat, and, when told that we had, wanted us to fire at a mark which one of them stuck up in the sand. Opokumanu declared they were "bad men," and intended us evil; and as we thought he might be right, we took our leave of them, and continued our route along the coast, followed by the ship, which had rejoined us.

A long sandy beach a few miles further on, known as White Beach by the traders, offering good landing, we again proceeded to the shore, and this time were received with the utmost cordiality by the people there assembled, several of whom begged to be taken off to the ship. This confidence in us was soon explained by Opokumanu recognising one or two men who had made his acquaintance when on a visit to Port Resolution. A stronger proof of the civilizing influence of these Polynesian teachers could not have been exhibited, for the people here assembled were, excepting in this reliance on our good faith and intentions, which must have been imparted to them by one or two individuals of their tribe, in no way superior to the most savage of their countrymen we had met with. Their faces were even more extravagantly plastered with dirt, and they spoke of their hostility to the tribe we had communicated with, their own district being named "Jeirus."

After our return to the ship, which was lying becalmed in the offing, a canoe-load of these wild people came off to us, testifying their surprise at all they saw, by the same unearthly screeches we had heard from the Lawaakus men. They showed great fear at the sight of the sheep, and more particularly of the monkey, and could not be persuaded to taste wine, or anything that was offered to

them. One nimble fellow sprang into the rigging, and ran to the topmast-head with great celerity, returning as quickly, not by the ratlines, but by one of the backstays, which he grasped as if a cocoa-nut tree. The drums and fifes, which were ordered up for their amusement, seemed rather to alarm them by their noise, and they took their departure as a breeze sprang up, waving their hands and continuing their strange cries until nearly lost sight of.

Making sail to the trade-wind, which had again set in fresh, we worked round the south point of the island during the night, and were in company with the Undine, off the entrance to Port Resolution, in the morning.

4th September.—Not wishing to risk a detention in Port Resolution, which even a light northerly wind might occasion, I left the ship outside, and accompanied the Bishop of New Zealand into the harbour in the Undine. We had a long and satisfactory conversation with Kaiassi in his own house, and surrounded by his people, on the subject of the foolish war going on with the western tribe, the chief of which, an intelligent fellow named Gaskin, had visited us on board of the schooner. When we ridiculed the notion of his relative's death having been caused by witchcraft, he smiled and looked ashamed of his credulity, or of the absurdity of the pretence; and when I explained to him that my removing Stephens was not for the purpose of depriving him of an ally, but to discourage our people in engaging in other people's quarrels, he said it was right, and that he was ready to make peace, an assurance which Gaskin had given us on his part.

Before my arrival, the Bishop had completely gained the latter chief's esteem and confidence by taking his part in a dispute with the master of a small English trader then in the port. On account of some difference of opinion with respect to the price of sandalwood, the Englishman had threatened to right himself by force of arms, and

was actually in pursuit of Gaskin's canoe in his own boat with a loaded musket, which he was pointing at the fugitive, when he was intercepted by the Bishop, who insisted on the discontinuance of such a mode of proceeding. In spite of the assurance of the master that "such was the only way to treat these fellows," an amicable arrangement was easily effected, and the influence of the "great missionary chief" (Aliki Asori) fully established in consequence. Gaskin seems to share the authority of old Kuanuan, and his father, who is still alive, is, like the former, one of the few followers of the Polynesian teachers.

Several causes have operated against the success of the missionaries in this and the neighbouring group, the climate of which, from the luxuriance of the vegetation and the dampness of the soil, seems much less adapted to European constitutions than the Polynesian islands, whose natives also frequently suffer here from fever and ague. For a year or more previous to 1843, two clergymen of the London Mission (one of whom, the Rev. Mr. Turner, we had met in Samoa) resided in Tana; but in the beginning of the year above-mentioned, an epidemic, which carried off great numbers of the people, having been as usual attributed to the white strangers, they were obliged to take their departure in a merchant-vessel which fortunately happened to be in the harbour. About the same time, and for the same alleged reason (the prevalence of dysentery), two Samoan teachers and their families were massacred by the Polynesian inhabitants of Fotuna. Such is the devotion, however, of these Polynesian neophytes, that no difficulty is found by the mission in supplying their places by students from the institution in Upolu; and advantage has been constantly taken of any favourable symptoms, to place teachers among the different populations, they being, with their wives and families, and generally a Samoan canoe, con-

veyed to their destinations by the missionary barque the John Williams, which is despatched on a periodical voyage for this purpose, as well as to furnish supplies to these men, who are often dependent on head-quarters for the common necessaries of life. By these means, besides Aneiteum, where two British missionaries reside, the mission has established stations (which, however, are occasionally abandoned and re-occupied as circumstances arise) at Tana, the small islands of Niua and Fotuna, and Vate or Sandwich Island of the New Hebrides, Lifu and Mare of the Loyalty Islands, the Isle of Pines, and a district named Tualu, on the south-eastern coast of New Caledonia. The trade in sandalwood, as at present carried on, is certainly the greatest obstacle to the improvement of the native races, although, if properly regulated, a constant intercourse with strangers would have the strongest effect in banishing their barbarous customs and prejudices. Perhaps, however, the plan of the Bishop of New Zealand, which he is now attempting to put into practice—namely, the inducing young men to accompany him to Auckland, where, after a course of education in his college, they are to be brought back to their own tribes—is the one most likely to be successful; nor is it at all beyond the range of probability that habits of honesty and decorum may yet be forced upon the foreign trader by those whom he has hitherto been accustomed to consider as the treacherous and irreclaimable savages of the sandalwood islands.

If we may judge by the appearance of the country and the excellence of the yams, the Tanese must be good cultivators of the soil, but they do not appear to be an ingenious people. The few houses we saw were simple longitudinal huts with slanting roofs, open at one end; and their weapons—spears, bows and arrows, and clubs—they were reluctant to part with, as we understood them to say

they imported them, particularly the latter, from Eromango. One weapon of native manufacture we saw, viz. a stone of the shape of that by which scythes are sharpened in England, and about a foot long, which they make from the coral rock, and use either for striking or throwing; and the Pandean pipe is their common instrument of music, although we did not hear them produce on it anything resembling an air.

One would be disposed to rate the population as considerable, both from the continuous numbers of men we saw along the shore during our circumnavigation of the island (the women and children being generally kept in the background), and from the great quantity of apparently cultivated ground and cocoa-nut trees, which grow to the summit of the first range of hills from the coast.

Of the language we can say nothing but that it is in sound totally different from any we have heard, and even, according to the Bishop of New Zealand, from that of Aneiteum, with which island they have frequent intercourse, and the inhabitants of which are a people precisely similar in appearance. Captain Cook remarked the existence of a separate language in Erronau, which, as it resembled the Tongan, he concluded had been brought by the people, who were evidently of another nation, from those islands. There can be no doubt now that both Erronau and Immer have, at no very distant period, been peopled from the eastward, the exact islands being probably traceable from the names, Fotuna (Horn Island) and Niua (Keppel's Island), with which the involuntary colonizers invested their new homes.

The following list of numerals, derived from a small vocabulary published by the mission, will show in some degree the difference of the two languages:—

	Tana.	Niua and Fotuna.
One	Litĭ	Tasi
Two	Kārŭ	Rua
Three	Ka-hār	Toru
Four	Kĕ-fā	Fa
Five	Kă-rirum	Rima
Six	Liti	Ono
Seven	Karu	Fitu
Eight	Ka-har	Varu
Nine	Ke-fa	Iva
Ten	Kā-rirum	Tanga-furu

The much greater harshness of the Tanese language enables them, I was told, to acquire the English pronunciation with greater facility than the Polynesians. One or two men, who have made voyages in trading-vessels, are said to speak English fluently, and during my last visit to Kaiassi many of the boys standing round jabbered a few words, such as "very good," "come along," &c. &c., very distinctly.

It ought to be mentioned that the proper name of the island is "Tana Asori," or "Great Land," the former word being apparently equivalent to the "Vanua," or "Wenua," of the Polynesian dialects. The only point connected with the religious faith of the Tanese, which I heard alluded to, was their universal belief in the power of sorcery and witchcraft, how or by whom acquired, or how exercised, I cannot say. In this they seem to resemble the Australian negroes, of whom Mr. Hale says,—

"One cause of hostility among them, both public and private, is the absurd idea which they entertain that no person dies a natural death. If a man perishes of disease at a distance from his friends, his death is supposed to have been caused by some sorcerer of another tribe, whose life must be taken for satisfaction. If, on the other hand, he dies among his kindred, the nearest relative is held responsible."[1]

The experience of the missionaries and teachers goes to prove the existence of cannibalism on the bodies of slain enemies, as a regular practice. The white man we saw at Port Resolution, however, asserted that, since the missionaries and traders have frequented that part of the island,

[1] Hale's Ethnography of the U. S. Exploring Expedition, p. 115.

no instance of cannibalism has taken place in the immediate neighbourhood, the bodies of enemies killed in fight, the number of whom is insignificant, being sent into the mountains to be feasted on. Not many months had elapsed since the body of a chief had thus been disposed of; the brother of the man by whose hand he had died having been afterwards enticed on shore by the tribe out of an English vessel in which he was serving, and clubbed to death in revenge.

Ships may procure large quantities of yams, bananas, and other vegetables in the proper season at Port Resolution; pigs are also plentiful on the island, but at the time of our visit they appeared to be kept back for some purpose or another, and we only managed to procure a few fowls.

We were told that the low island of Immer, or Niua, is well supplied with all kinds of stock; and as we made sail from the entrance of Port Resolution, several canoes were arriving, which we suspected were laden with provisions to barter with us.

At 5 P.M. we took our leave of Kaiassi and his people, promising, if possible, to visit them in the ensuing year, and, sailing out in the Undine, joined company with the Havannah at the entrance of the port.

As we had found on our former run to Eromango that a current set strong to the N.W., we steered, after making sail, as high as N.N.W. for 14 miles; 18 or 20 more of a N.W. by W. ½ W. course took us close up to the south side of Eromango, when we kept away to the westward, until its west end bore N.N.E., and then steered N.W. by N. for Vate.

5th September.—The morning was thick and rainy, but at daylight, having run from Port Resolution on our different courses about 120 miles, the low land of the south-eastern end of Vate was seen ahead, and at 8 AM., when we rounded to, to wait for the Undine, the extremes of the land bore N. 35° E. and N. 85° W. The coast,

through the haze, seemed low, but rising into hills to the westward, and, as we filled and ran down it, several bays, apparently formed by islands, looked as if anchorage might be found there. The Undine not appearing, we continued to run to the N.W., passing a large opening, which we understood to be the South-west Bay of the traders, called by the natives Pango, and at 4 P.M., when within a few miles of the N.E. point of Vate, we made a small island of a very remarkable shape, resembling a low-crowned hat with a broad brim, which Stephens, the man brought from Tana, recognised as indicating the entrance to a capacious harbour. We hauled in accordingly, and, leaving the island on the port hand, and working up a channel in which no bottom was found with 25 fathoms, entered a large landlocked harbour, in which, at 6 P.M., we anchored in 21 fathoms, having failed to find a shoaler spot, although then five or six miles from the entrance. We had passed at anchor, on a small rocky patch off a point on the right hand, forming the mouth of the inner harbour, an English schooner, the Vanguard, of Sydney; one or two whitewashed houses on the point itself, betokening the presence of Polynesian missionary teachers.

The weather having somewhat cleared before sunset, we were enabled to see a little more of the features of the land. The usual belt of vegetation extended on all sides for a few hundred feet above the level of the sea, a white sandy beach running along the shores. Above the first range, especially on the main land which forms the south side of the harbour, the surrounding hills are of varied and most picturesque forms, being in general bare of trees, but covered with apparently rich pasture, in some places brown, as if burnt for purposes of cultivation. The rainbow tints caused by the setting sun gave a peculiar beauty to the landscape, and many of the officers considered that none of the islands we had as yet visited offered so beautiful a scene as that which now lay before us.

From a village situated on an island forming the western side of the harbour, and protected to seaward by a coral wall (the only fortification of the kind we had met with), a canoe pushed off to intercept us as we were working in, one of the three men occupying it handing up a becket of plaited cord, such as we had seen in the hands of the Tanese for throwing their spears. Either from this peace-offering not being immediately acknowledged by a gift in return, or from the fear of coming among the people of another tribe with which we afterwards heard they were at war, these people did not remain alongside, but returned to their village. From the southern and eastern sides of the harbour, however, some clumsy-looking canoes, and several small ones managed by a single person, came off, and remained near the ship, whilst the process of anchoring and furling the sails was going on. One man in particular attracted attention by plying to and fro under the stern, and occasionally holding up a single cocoa-nut; but on one of the cutters being lowered down for the boatswain to row round the ship, the noise of the tackles, and the sight of the men rushing into the boat, thoroughly alarmed them, and they all paddled off to the shore.

Three missionary teachers, all natives of Samoa, and bearing the scriptural names of Tavili, Mose, and Sailusi (David, Moses, and Silas), whose houses we had observed on the point (which received in consequence the name of "Missionary Point"), and who were anxiously looking out for the periodical visit of the John Williams, paddled off in their own light canoe, and, although at first disappointed to find we were a stranger, were made happy by hearing we had lately quitted their own country, and that the barque with two clergymen might shortly be expected.

At 8.30 the Undine made her appearance, and anchored close under our stern, where she found a patch of a few feet in circumference with only 13 fathoms on it. The Bishop had looked into South-West Bay, which he

had supposed to be our rendezvous, and which had formerly been the principal mission station, but had been lately abandoned. Our having accidentally hit upon this harbour was, therefore, a fortunate circumstance, as it enabled us to have freer communication with the natives. The teachers' success with the people had not been great; and they and their families had suffered, and were still suffering much from bad health. Since the last visit of the John Williams three teachers and three children had died, and it was considered prudent to concentrate themselves on this spot.

6th September. — Soon after daybreak the Bishop's schooner was surrounded by canoes, who were apparently feeling their way to the large ship. Their apprehensions were soon diminished, but not removed; for, although they gradually ventured on board, the sight of arms of any description, which has hitherto been rather pleasing to our visitors, served to throw them into a state of great alarm. Our usual morning's muster at quarters nearly cleared the ship; and on Mr. Hannant showing one of them the effect of the explosion of a quill-tube, the man fell on the deck as if shot, and begged that no experiment of the kind might be repeated, exclaiming "Tabu, tabu," if any one approached the lock of either a gun or musket.

These people, although differing a good deal among themselves, had, except the black colour of their skins, few points of resemblance to the Tanese. They were of larger stature and more regular features, some having straight or almost aquiline noses, good foreheads, and beards of a moderate size. As their manners were more composed, so their dress was much more decent, consisting of a broad belt of matting, seven or eight inches wide, very neatly worked in a diamond pattern of red, white, and black colours, with a species of maro suspended in front. Many of them had their skins tattooed,

K.M. Knapp, Esq. del. J.A. Vinter lith. Day & Son, Lith^rs to The Queen.

MAN OF TANA, NEW HEBRIDES.

K.M. Knapp, Esq. del. J.A. Vinter lith. Day & Son, Lith^rs to The Queen.

CHIEF OF VATE, NEW HEBRIDES.

or rather covered with raised figures, the arms and chest being the parts generally operated upon; the cartilage of the nose was frequently pierced, and filled with a circular piece of stone, and the lobes of the ears always so, large ornaments of white shells, or of tortoise-shell, being hung from them, so as often to extend the orifice to a great size. Round their arms, and, in some cases, round their ankles, they wore handsome bracelets, made of small rings ground out of shells, exactly resembling chain-armour, and so neatly strung together in alternate black and white rows or figures that the inside resembled a coarse woven cloth. Garters of a green leaf were often tied tight round the leg, under the knee; and, in one or two instances, the crisp hair, which was in general of a moderate length, was gathered up into a large topknot, coloured yellow by lime, and a neat plume of cocks' feathers, attached to the scratching-pin, inserted in it. They seemed to have no wish for tobacco, saying it was "tabu;" but were clamorous for pieces of red cotton or handkerchiefs; while strips of white calico were sufficient to buy yams, which they brought in considerable quantities, or even their bows and arrows or spears. The latter were of beautiful design: the heads being either carved with barbs resembling the finest Gothic work, or composed of several prongs (which they told us were poisoned, and kept wrapped up in banana-leaves), inserted into sockets prettily ornamented with red and white plaited cord, and decorated with a bunch of cock's feathers. Two spears were sold to us as particularly valuable: the one being headed by a fragment of human bone about a foot long; and the other by a piece of wood shaped into an exact copy of the former. Their ordinary canoes were constructed with outriggers, and, although of coarser model and workmanship, were similar to those of Samoa. We afterwards, however, saw, hauled up on the beach, a much larger canoe, on the body of which (apparently single) was

built a kind of box to sit in, resembling a gondola without the enclosed top.

The teachers came on board in the forenoon, bringing with them Tokuali, the old chief of Sema (the district on which they are living), whom they represented as an old missionary or Christian, and apparently the only hearty friend they have acquired. Two other chiefs, both of agreeable appearance and manners, remained on board nearly the whole day—Tongalulu, a man of middle age, and Talipoa-uia (or the Good), the more youthful chief of Moso, one of the islands surrounding the harbour, and lying to the N. of us. A good stream of water having been pointed out on the beach, our boats were sent to procure the small quantity we needed, which was done in a few hours, the natives belonging to the Sema district carrying on friendly barter with the men, and rendering any assistance required.

Through the interpretation of the Bishop and the teachers I had a long conversation with Talipoa-uia and Tongalulu on the subject of the expedition fitted out at Tonga, and despatched to collect sandalwood among these islands, about the end of 1842, the particulars of which had been related to me at Tonga-tabu by a young chief of that island.[1] Both these chiefs remembered the circumstance distinctly, and their account, given with some little reluctance, did not differ much from that of Methusaleh Tae. Permission had been obtained by the masters of the vessels for the Tongans to fell and carry off the wood, for which a regular payment was to have been made: and all would have gone well but for the arrogance of the strangers, who, from forcibly taking the cocoa-nuts—then under "tabu"—and singing songs insulting to the natives of the country (both very common causes of quarrel in this ocean), excited their hostility. Having no fire-arms, the natives were, of course, defeated by the Tongans, who,

[1] See pages 143, 144.

according to these chiefs, killed forty on one side of the harbour and twenty on the other. The story of the suffocation in the cave was repeated with some variations, it appearing that eight bodies only were found, of whom six had perished in one cave and two in another. The date of the occurrence could not be exactly ascertained, as might be expected; the two chiefs, after discussing the question with each other, deciding that it took place about nine years before, which would differ from the Tongan account by two years, although there can be but little doubt that the same events were alluded to by both parties.

Whether an apprehension of such consequences as the above following the white men's visits actuated the adjacent tribes, or whether, as the traders would have us to believe, their love of treachery and thirst of blood alone prompted them, may be a matter of dispute; but the Vateans were not long in the strangers' debt, the crews of two British vessels, with the exception of a single Englishman and some natives of New Zealand and the Society Islands, having been massacred a few years afterwards at Olotapu and Vila, two anchorages or ports to the S.E. of where we were lying. The following accounts of these wholesale massacres are extracted from the Samoan Reporter, and, I have since had reason to believe, are perfectly accurate:—

Massacre of the Crew of the Cape Packet.—We may here just state the substance of what we learnt respecting a melancholy affair which took place some years ago in the bay where we anchored, viz. the massacre of the crew of the Cape Packet, a trading-vessel from Sydney, and the destruction of the vessel. The report we had heard stated that the vessel had been taken and the crew massacred by the natives of the island.[1] The following, however, are the leading facts connected with it, which we learned from the teachers. It appears that, a quarrel having taken place on board, occasioned by the presence of native females, part of the crew, natives of New Zealand, Borabora, and Oahu, deserted, taking with them one of the ship's boats, but having

[1] Vila, in the bay of Pango, or South-West Bay.

been pursued were brought back. A second quarrel, however, having taken place, these parties, ten in number, again ran away. On this occasion they contrived to get intercourse with the natives on shore before another boat could go in pursuit, whom they persuaded to kill the captain and boat's crew when they might arrive. The natives at first refused, being afraid, but the islanders from on board at last succeeded in their wishes, and when the boat went inland the deed was done. This being effected, these men came out of the bush, and had the hands of part of their number slightly bound, and they were then conveyed on board in a boat by some of the natives, as if sent by the captain while he made search for the remainder. These were taken on deck, leaving the natives of the island in the boat. At a pre-concerted signal they all burst their slightly tied hands, and attacked the remainder of the ship's company, who had been left in charge, and, being assisted by two islanders, part of the crew, who had remained on board, they killed them all. Having accomplished this diabolical deed, the perpetrators took a number of articles, such as clothing, guns, &c., from the vessel, and set her on fire. They then went on shore, where they continued to live for some time. Eight of their number, however, have since died of disease on the island, and the remaining four have lately left in ships. Such are the particulars we have learnt respecting the melancholy affair, and as thus reported it goes far to exculpate the natives of the island from the guilt of the horrid crime.'

Massacre of the Crew of the British Sovereign.—But the abandonment of another of the stations on the south-west side of the island, viz. Olatapu, is associated with events more calamitous still. Mose and Stefania, teachers from Samoa, were stationed here. One Friday afternoon, towards the end of April, 1847, a boat reached a bay close by where the teachers were. Two white men were in it, and starving for want of food. The natives resolved on killing them, desirous of getting their bodies, their clothes, and their boat. Mose was the means of saving one of them, a man named John Jones. The other, a stout man, was taken by a person, saying he would save him; but he was killed and cooked next morning. This was a boat belonging to the British Sovereign, a sandalwooding barque, which had gone ashore some nights before on the east side of the island, and became a wreck. The captain, and the rest of the crew, having escaped from the wreck, arrived at the same place on the following sabbath, on their way to the large harbour on the south-west side of the island. Whenever the natives saw them, they determined to kill them. Some treated them with cocoa-nuts and sugar-cane, while others went off to muster the district for their massacre. Our teachers saw the people arming and running off; they said they were going to fight with a neighbouring

[1] From the Samoan Reporter for March, 1847.

tribe; but the plot came out, and then our teacher and the man Jones were all anxiety to be off to the spot to save life. The chief stood up, and would not allow them; and it was only a conviction that it would be their death to go that kept them back. The tribes at hand were assembled, all was arranged, and the natives, in company with the foreigners, got up to advance along the road. They walked single file, a native between every white man, and a few on either side. The chief took the lead, and gave the signal, when every one wheeled round and struck his man. A few Tana men escaped to the sea, but were pursued and killed, with the exception of one, who fled to the bush. This native and a little boy, together with the man Jones, were all who escaped the massacre, and are now off in a vessel. Ten bodies of the unhappy sufferers were cooked on the spot; the teachers mention adjacent villages among whom other ten were distributed; they are not sure what became of the rest, nor the exact number massacred. In most cases the white men are the aggressors.[1] In this most cold-blooded massacre, however, we cannot learn any object on the part of the natives, but a desire to obtain human flesh and the clothes of these unfortunate men.

A few days after, another boat touched at the same place, which we suppose was the long boat either of the Elizabeth or the British Sovereign, in search of survivors. All on shore were in arms again, bent upon killing the four or five men who were in this boat; and when they went off towards it, the men fired upon them. The chiefs were enraged at the firing, and determined to be avenged on the teachers and Jones, who was still a refugee with them. A woman, hearing of the plot, ran and informed the teachers. Jones and they had scarcely reached the bush, fleeing for their lives, when the party arrived at their house to kill them. They were pursued to another station whither they fled; but, after remonstrance, and in consideration of getting all the property of the teachers, there was no further bloodshed. Before leaving the island, Jones left the following document with the teacher Mose, through whose exertions, under God, he was saved. These self-denying teachers are too often calumniated by our countrymen, whose projects their work and duty call them to oppose; but, after all, they have often been placed in circumstances which have forced them to change their tone, and give vent to their feelings in such grateful terms as the following:—

"*Sandwich Island, May 16th*, 1847.

"This is to certify that Mose and his partner left the tap (Olatapu) on the 16th of May we had to run for our life to get clear of them left everything behind when the British Soverein his long boat came and fire at them J Jones was the only one that was saved out of the crew they killed them all through Mose I was saved and I beg of you

to give him something he is a good man he venture more than any man would think and after all had run I hope the Lord will pay him for his trouble with me

(Signed) "JOHN JONES."[1]

Neither Captain Richards, the master of the Vanguard, an old trader in these seas, nor the chiefs, would allow that any disturbance had lately taken place, to their knowledge, between foreign vessels and the natives of this district; yet their fear of us, and the dread of fire-arms, would induce one to believe that they must have had some later experience of their effects than the affair of 1842. They do not seem yet to have procured any muskets for their own use; but when fire-arms shall be introduced into these islands, as is already partially the case at Tana, any traffic with the natives must either be conducted on more civilized principles, or be attended with a constant slaughter on either side.

Captain Richards in the course of conversation gave us some notion of the manner in which the trade in sandal-wood is conducted with the people of Eromango, who are, probably with reason, considered the most barbarous of the New Hebrides. The mate of a Sydney vessel had boasted to him, but a few weeks previously, of having shot six men, as she sailed along the coast, with the charitable purpose of spoiling the market of those who might follow; and the same, or another miscreant, was reported to have shot a friendly chief in sport, when, having concluded his traffic, he was swimming on shore from the vessel. If these stories of our countrymen's proceedings be true, it is not difficult to account for the treacherous attacks made on them by the natives, but that the latter should continue to suffer any intercourse under the circumstances, shows a strong desire for trading, which might, if properly regulated, conduce very much to the advantage of both parties.

The people of Vate are said to be very averse to

[1] From the Samoan Reporter for September, 1848.

strangers penetrating into their country, and several of our officers, who had gone on shore with the watering party, found that proposals to visit the village, which was represented to be at no great distance inland, met with discouragement. The Bishop of New Zealand had however so conciliated the respect of the chiefs, especially old Tokuali, that it was agreed that, landing at the watering-place abreast of the ship, we should walk to the point where the teachers' houses were situated, not along the shore, but by a considerable round, which would take us through the principal village of the district. A party of us landed accordingly, and were conducted by a good path, bordered in places by enclosed provision-grounds, apparently very productive, to the village. The houses, which stood in no regular order, were of tolerable dimensions, of an oblong form, with slightly curved roofs, closed at the sides, but entirely open at one end. The first one we looked into we took for a temple, as from all the rafters were suspended quantities of bones, which we supposed to be offerings to the spirit, and we were strengthened in our opinion by the opposition made to our entering it. We soon, however, found we were mistaken in our conjecture, and that the desire of giving us the best reception was the only cause for objecting to our entering any of the houses; for another turn of the path brought us to an open spot, where stood the large common house of the village, into which we were ushered with evident pride. This building, which we found to be 100 feet in length by 28 wide, differed from the ordinary habitations in having the whole of one side open, but, to our surprise, the show of bones which we had remarked in the first house, and which we were told betokened the residence of a chief, was here exhibited in a ten-fold degree, the interior of the roof being entirely concealed by the bundles which were suspended from the rafters. Here hung strings of the vertebræ of pigs, there the joints

of their tails, while dozens of merrythoughts of fowls, and every conceivable bone of birds and fishes, mingled with lobster-shells, and sharks' fins. Whether human bones formed any part of the collection I cannot say, but none came under my observation, and from the people being aware, through the missionary teachers, of our horror of the practice of cannibalism, I am induced to think that, had such been there, we should not have been invited to inspect them. As to the object or origin of this curious custom we could get no information, but we were told that the passion for collecting these bones is so great, that a traffic in them is carried on, not only among the tribes, but with the neighbouring islands. It did not appear to us that jealousy of their women was the cause of their fear of the intrusion of foreigners, as many were seen during our walk, as well as a fair proportion of children. The women were generally tall and thin, their hair cropped close to the head, and the skin occasionally marked with figures, as was remarked on the men's bodies. Their dress did not differ much from that of the males, consisting of a somewhat broader waist-belt, and a square mat in front, resembling an enlarged maro. To this must be added however the singular appendage of a tail, made of grass or matting, the ends being a loose fringe of a foot and a half long, and the whole suspended from the waist-belt, and reaching nearly to the calf of the leg. On all sides we saw evidences of plenty of articles of food. Numerous pigs were running about, and all the trees near the houses were covered with yams attached to the boughs.

As the bishop was to sail in the evening, we were obliged to make a hurried visit to the poor teachers, who, with their sickly-looking wives and one or two children, were living an isolated life on the point. In the distribution of their houses and manner of clothing themselves, it was pleasing to see that the improved habits acquired from their European education did not desert them, even when

Man and Woman of Vate or Sandwich Island.

thus cut off from all civilization; and I was happy to have it in my power to make some small additions to their scanty stock of clothing and comforts.

At 6 P.M. the bishop sailed in the Undine, and it was arranged that we were to follow in the morning, and rendezvous at Uea.

I regretted much that press of time obliged me to curtail our stay at this island, as our slight acquaintance with the people had shown them to be a more interesting race than previous accounts have led us to expect among the New Hebrideans. Both their personal appearance and language would indicate a stronger infusion of Polynesian blood than is exhibited in the Tanese, among whom our interpreters were almost useless. Here, on the contrary, many pure Samoan words occurred in common conversation, which rendered it not difficult for a person acquainted with any Polynesian dialect to follow their meaning; and the numerals habitually used by them differed little from those of Samoa. It is not probable that the missionary teachers, who have resided here but a few years, could have effected much in the change of language, but we heard a report from them of a large band of involuntary immigrants from Tonga, who had arrived at the windward part of the island more than twenty years before, and of whom two men were known to be still alive: one, by name Sualo, residing at a village near the bay of Pango, was a person of excellent character, and had rendered many services to the mission; whilst another (Niu-Same, or Sour Cocoanut) was living at Olo-tapu, and was accused of having been the instigator of the massacre of the British Sovereign's crew in 1847.

The population appears to be considerable, but to be divided into tribes of three or four hundred persons, which are frequently, as a matter of course, at war with each other. Of these tribes or villages we heard the names of four, surrounding the harbour: Lēaūsāa, the island on the

left of the entrance, with its fortified village, being at war with the opposite tribe on the main, Lelāpă; whilst Sēmă, Sivīlĭ, and the island of Mōsŏ, forming the coasts of the inner harbour, were at present at peace. The Rev. Mr. Turner, of the London mission, who visited these people in the course of the first voyage of the John Williams, in 1845, says of them,—

"Upon the whole they are among the most inviting heathens we have met with in these seas. There is considerable diversity of dialect on the island; less however than at Tana, as it is said they intermarry all over the island. Government, patriarchal. The tribes are often at war with each other, but their wars are mere skirmishes. Polygamy prevails. Much manual labour devolves upon the woman, and hence she never nurses more than two or three children. If she has any beyond that number, their grave is dug as soon as they are born, and their helpless cries hushed in death! There are no idols there. They invoke the spirits of their departed chiefs, and believe in a future state, somewhere in the westward, to which they give the name of Lakinatoto. The origin of all things they trace to Manitikitiki and Tamakaiā. They cultivate the soil well, and grow yams in great abundance. Their houses are low and inferior. Their canoes are good, and enable them to hold intercourse with many of the adjacent islands to the north."[1]

A later account does not describe these people so favourably: Mr. Hardie, who arrived a few weeks after our departure, for the purpose of removing the teachers, gives the following, as information derived from them:—

"The people are most invetérate cannibals. Enemies slain in war are eaten by them. They will go to other villages and exhume bodies that have been buried two, three, or more days, bring them home, cook and eat them. It is their custom, when they wish to make peace, to kill one or more of their own people, and send the body to those with whom they have been fighting to eat. On the death of chiefs it is a frequent custom to kill one, two, three, or more men to make a feast for the mourners. When parents are unwilling to bear the fatigue of rearing their children, or when they find them a hindrance to their work, they often bury them alive. Several things of the above kind had happened, and come to the knowledge of the teacher, since the last voyage."[2]

[1] Samoan Reporter for September, 1845.
[2] Samoan Reporter for November, 1849.

The land of Vate, of which a minute portion is cultivated, must be exceedingly fertile, and capable of supporting a very large population. In none of the islands did we see a greater supply of both vegetables and pigs, although the people seemed disinclined to part with the latter; they are, in fact (sandalwood being now scarce), the only article of traffic with Europeans, and are probably kept to fulfil some contract with a favourite trader, who purchases them here as at Tana to exchange for sandalwood with the Eromangans. Captain Richards was here with this object, and, being on good terms with one of the chiefs, who resided on aboard during his stay, was enabled to complete his cargo of live stock, a part of which he obligingly supplied to us. The schooner he commanded had been chartered a year or two before to convey to the island of Isabel (one of the Solomon group) a French Roman Catholic bishop and eighteen priests, for the purpose of founding a mission. On the first attempt to land, however, the bishop, who had strayed to a little distance from the rest of the party, received his death-blow from some of the savages, who were supposed to have been tempted by his dress and ornaments, and he lived but a few hours after the boat's crew, who, alarmed by his cries, hurried to his assistance, had carried him on board of the vessel.

The Vanguard's name is also associated with the sandalwood tragedy enacted on the south coast of New Caledonia in October, 1847, when the master and seven of the crew were killed, in revenge for an alleged act of bad faith on their part. On this occasion Stephens, the man removed from Tana, was serving on board, and by his assistance I hoped both to discover the exact spot of the massacre and to learn something more of the circumstances attending it.

7th September.—We were surprised before daylight by seeing a vessel under sail close to us, but on her anchoring,

discovered it was the Vanguard, which, during one of the heavy squalls which come down the ravines in the entrance channel, had been blown off the small coral patch on which she had brought up, and was obliged to run up the harbour. Where the Havannah lay being at some distance from the hills, we had experienced but moderate breezes all night.

This harbour, which, from our being the first British ship of war that had entered it, I named Havannah Harbour, is formed by the main land of Vate on the south and east sides, and on the W. and N. by two islands, Leausāū, or Protection Island, and Moso, or Deception Island, the larger of which appears to the eye to be connected with the main. Between these two islands there is a passage which would greatly shorten the distance in leaving the port, and spare a ship the heavy squalls from the high land which she is likely to encounter in running down the channel to Hat Island. The passage being apparently shoal, I did not attempt it, but I have since had reason to believe that there are not less than six fathoms of water in the centre.

Mr. Hilliard made his observations on a low green point which bore, from where the ship lay, N. 50° W.; a remarkable distant peak, bearing N. 33° E.; and Missionary Point, S. 33° W.

The position of the observation point was lat. 17° 31′ 35″ S., long. 168° 26′ E.

The variation of the compass was 10° 30′ E.; and the rise and fall of the tide seemed to be but from three to four feet.

I was informed that a boat-passage, between the eastern end of Moso and the main, opened into a large sound on the north side of Vate, which is bounded by Captain Cook's Montague and Hichinbrook islands, but I had not time to examine it.

We weighed anchor at six o'clock, and, after passing

through a succession of heavy gusts from the hills on the eastern side of the entrance, cleared the harbour a little after seven, and shaped a course for the westernmost of the three largest islands of the Loyalty group, generally known in these seas by the name of Uēă. Our only guide for these islands was a tracing, accidentally procured from the missionaries at Samoa, of M. d'Urville's plan of 'les Isles Loyalty,' the northern sides of which he had sailed past in June, 1827, when he named the island whither we were bound, 'Isle Halgan.' The Bishop of New Zealand had, however, been made acquainted with the existence of an extensive sound on the western side of Uea, sheltered by a chain of small coral islands, of which the Pleiades of M. d'Urville form the northern portion; and as there seemed no reason to doubt that the passages between these islands would admit a ship of the Havannah's draught (18 feet 6 inches), this anchorage had been selected for our rendezvous.

8th September.—Although, being aware of the usual westerly set, we had steered as high as S. by W. for a great part of the night, we only made the Pleiades ahead and on the lee-bow at daylight, and were obliged to haul our wind and work up to Uĕa. At 8 A.M. the extreme of the Pleiades bore S.W., and the west point of Uĕa east; and at 9 a brigantine was observed at anchor in the sound, which showed us we were still considerably to leeward. An hour or two afterwards we joined company with the Undine; and being then well to windward of all the small islands, the Bishop volunteered to lead in through one of the passages. The first attempt proved unsuccessful, the entrance being barred by a reef; but between the first and second islets (reckoning from the westward of Uea) a passage with nine and ten fathoms was found, into which we hauled, and anchored at 1.30 P.M., in seven fathoms, in what might almost be called the lagoon of a coral island

on a large scale, its diameter being apparently from fifteen to eighteen miles.

The land here is of a totally different character and appearance from those of the volcanic islands we had last quitted, the mainland of Uea being itself low, but with several abrupt rocky eminences, resembling dilapidated fortifications, one of which might almost have been taken for a martello tower in ruins. The surrounding small islets were exactly what would be termed cays in the West Indies, and were in general bare, with one remarkable exception, which was covered with a number of very singular tall trees, looking like poles or masts of ships, which we recognised as those extraordinary pines,[1] which, when first seen from the deck of the Resolution, on New Caledonia, Captain Cook states, his "philosophers were positive were pillars of basaltes, like those which compose the Giant's Causeway in Ireland."[2]

Our passage was about 500 yards wide; but we were told that a broader one existed between this pine island and that immediately to the southward of it, leaving a remarkable round rock, called by the natives Oidi, to the left. The many coral patches seen ahead of us induced me to anchor where we did; but on sounding on the most dangerous, we did not find less than four fathoms, and might doubtless, had it been required, have approached much nearer to the head of the sound.[3]

The brigantine seen in the morning (the Lyner of Plymouth) was at anchor about four miles from us, and thither the Undine proceeded. The position of our berth,

[1] Now called, I believe, the Araucaria Cookii.

[2] Cook's Second Voyage, chap. x.

[3] Bishop Selwyn's Sound was partially surveyed in May, 1850, by Captain Oliver of H.M.S. "Fly." The sketch of the islands on the map is from his pencil. I have since found that the two passages into the sound were named by Mr. Cheyne the Juno and Bull entrances. See 'A Description of Islands in the Western Pacific, by Andrew Cheyne,' 1852.

observed from the ship, was lat. 20° 26' S., long. 166° 25' E.; and the name of Bishop Selwyn's Sound at once suggested itself to me as an appropriate denomination for this fine sheet of water.

Our distance from the inhabited part of the island prevented our distinguishing any villages or houses; but we were soon visited by parties of natives, who had previously ascertained from the Undine our pacific intentions. These came in one or two large double canoes, resembling those of Feejee, but of much clumsier construction, and coarser workmanship. A platform or deck was built over the two bodies, and a rail or balustrade ran along one side, to prevent either men or implements from slipping overboard. They were rowed in a clumsy manner, without row-locks, by large paddles; another of which was used as a scull, to steer the vessel, the exertions of the people being great, and the speed small.

The men were all naked, if we except a small band or string round the waist, applied in a peculiar manner, but which seemed to be considered as necessary to decency, as a much larger quantity of clothing would be by other people. The colour of their skins was in general a dark brown, of a lighter hue than that of the Vateans; but a considerable diversity of shades was perceivable. There was no appearance of circumcision among them, but all had the lobe of the ears pierced; and I observed one only with a stick thrust through the cartilage of the nose, which he pulled out and showed us when requested.

On examining the texture of several of the boys' hair, I found about an equal number of crisp and flowing haired heads, and was told on inquiry that the latter could not be artificially frizzed, affording a proof that these people were not of the pure negro race, which their language, containing many Samoan or Polynesian words, tended to strengthen.

Before going further, I may state the substance of a tradition, of no distant origin, which was repeated to me afterwards by an intelligent man, a Mr. Edwards, who, having been wrecked in a sandalwood vessel on the coast of Uea, resided for some months in the island. According to the tradition, the forefathers of the people composing this tribe landed, only one or two generations ago, from a long voyage which they had undertaken from Uea, or Uevia, the modern Wallis island. The reason assigned for their departure from their native land, was the death of the son of a great chief, named Savaloa, occasioned, according to them, by the *accidental* falling of a hatchet on his head whilst asleep. The persons in fault, not daring to face the chief after the disaster, escaped to their canoe, and abandoning themselves to the winds and waves, after a long voyage (the distance is upwards of 1000 miles), landed on the northern coast of this island, to which they gave the name of their birth-place. The original inhabitants, driven back by these intruders, are said still to inhabit the central part of the island; whilst the southern portion was within a few years conquered and settled by a New Caledonian chief, named Wīnĭkĕ, or Uiningāe, whose son, formerly called "Joquer," has, since the death of his father, assumed the former name or title. I had, unfortunately, no time to visit either of the other districts, each of which, it is said, speaks a distinct language, and has applied a different name to their island, Uea, Mondavi, and Airtĕ or Ertĕ being those respectively of the three tribes. Mr. Edwards stated that on meeting a native of Uea, the first question asked was generally "Muna-faka Uea?" or "Muna-faka Erte?" "Do you speak the Uean or the Erte language?"[1] and a comparison of the numerals of two of the tribes will show that they, at

[1] The words are Feejeean, and mean literally, Do you speak Uea fashion? or Erte fashion?

least, are totally distinct. It must be remarked, as I believe a solitary instance, that the Polynesians in this case have not only failed to introduce their own numeral system, but have so far retrograded as to have adopted the simple quinqual arrangement of the less advanced Melanesian people, although the Polynesian names of the numbers up to five are retained.

	Uean numerals (Northern Tribe).	Ditto from Mr. Cheyne,[1] supposed to be of Uiningae's Tribe.
One	Tahi	Hacha
Two	Lua	Lo
Three	Tolu	Kuun
Four	Fa	Thack
Five	Lima	Thabumb
Six	Tahi	Lo-acha
Seven	Lua	Lo-alo
Eight	Tolu	Lo-kuun
Nine	Fa	Lo-thack
Ten	Lima	Lebenetee

With respect to the language of the people whom the Polynesians found on the island, Mr. Edwards could give no further account than that it resembled that of Aneiteum, an island in which he had lived for a considerable time, in constant communication with the natives. The people of Uea were represented by him as superior in moral qualities to any of the islanders in this part of the Pacific, and to have a natural sense of right and wrong, which he had never noticed so strong elsewhere. The women (as others testify,[2] who hold in most respects the usual low opinion of these and all savages entertained by the sandalwood traders) are strictly chaste before marriage, and faithful wives afterwards. They are said to have much influence with the men, and slander of a woman's character would be considered a justifiable cause of quarrel between tribes.

The Loyalty islanders probably owed to their good

[1] Description of Islands in the Western Pacific Ocean, by Andrew Cheyne, Vocabularies, p. 181.

[2] Cheyne's Description, p. 25.

reputation, and a love of wandering, for which they seem to be distinguished, an unsuccessful attempt, made in 1847 by a company established in New South Wales for whaling and other purposes, to supply the labour market of that colony by their means. The director of the company in question despatched at that time two vessels with this view, under the command of a Mr. Kirsopp, who succeeded in inducing the chiefs of several of the islands to persuade about seventy young men, a few of whom were natives of Tana, in the New Hebrides, but the greater number of Uea and Lifu, to embark with him for the purpose of "seeing the world." Sundry events occurred during the voyage to open their eyes to the real intentions of their pretended friends; and on their arrival at their destination of Two-fold Bay, the whole scheme was so apparent, that, refusing to work, they, with one consent, demanded to be sent back to their homes. With an extraordinary degree of determination and intelligence, the whole body made good their way by land to Sydney, a distance of more than 200 miles, whence, with a few exceptions, they were ultimately shipped off for the islands. Mr. Strachan, the master of the Lyner, who came on board soon after we anchored, informed me that he had brought up in his vessel thirty-six of these lads in February last; about an equal number having been, some months previously, despatched from Sydney in 'L'Arche d'Alliance,' a ship in the service of the French Catholic Mission, which was bringing to Uea some priests, with the hopes of being able to establish themselves. By Mr. Strachan's account the captain of the French ship took alarm at some demonstrations made by the people of the Southern district, where he at first anchored, and the scheme of forming a mission was precipitately abandoned. Mr. Strachan gave the people of this tribe a very good character, and he had secured the friendship of Nikĕlō, the chief of the tribe, who supplied him with

sandalwood, and had also sold or granted to him one of the small islands, on which he had a rude storehouse, and where he had raised a few vegetables. Three of the New South Wales party, natives of Tana, were still on board of the Lyner, where they had made themselves very useful, and Mr. Strachan stated that it was his intention to land them at their own island on his way to China, whither he was shortly about to proceed with his cargo of sandalwood.

The master of the Lyner brought with him Nikĕlō, the chief of the tribe, a sombre-looking man, in no ways differing in appearance from his people, except in wearing a high cylindrical cap of thin cloth, resembling paper, and having tattooed on his chest, in large Roman characters, "*Nicolo, King of Ware,*" which was soon concealed under a shirt which I gave him.

He was represented as very well disposed towards his white visitors, and to be of a peaceable disposition, having lately brought a war, which had been carried on for some time with Uiningae, to a close. The Bishop of New Zealand, anxious to employ his time profitably, engaged him to accompany him in a cruise to some of the villages, and they embarked in the Undine for the purpose.

Having despatched the chief, I went with a party of officers and men, to inspect the curious pines which the people here called Veloa, on the small island, and to cut a few of a sufficient size to make studding sail booms. We found the trees to resemble closely the pine (Araucaria excelsa) of Norfolk Island, but the side branches so small as to look like leaves growing directly from the trunk, which thus feathered along its whole height, scarcely appears to taper from the roots to the top. No plants were found sufficiently small to carry away, nor were there any cones on the two or three which we felled. The wood was of a close tough texture, but when made into booms they invariably broke short off in the knots, which

in these small spars penetrate nearly into the centre of the tree.

Sunday, 9th September.—The Bishop who had returned from his cruise, with Nikelo, in the evening, preached on board of us this morning. A number of the natives were admitted into the ship, and behaved during divine service in a perfectly quiet and orderly manner, evidently aware that some religious ceremony was going on.

A canoe full of women and young girls came off afterwards, most of them naked, with the exception of a fringe exactly an inch deep, round the loins. They were told they could not be admitted on board without their husbands or fathers, and consequently the only one who saw the interior of the ship was a daughter of Nikelo's, a girl of thirteen or fourteen, whom we clad decently in calico, as well as his son, a fine-looking boy, a year or two younger. The others remained alongside, receiving thankfully little presents of calico, handkerchiefs, or tobacco, of which all seemed extravagantly fond; and although in good humour, exhibiting not the slightest sign of immodesty; indeed it was found difficult to persuade any of them, even after being well clothed in English shirts, to take off their own curious dresses which the collectors of curiosities were desirous of possessing as specimens.

Among the visitors was another chief, who, in rivalry of Nikelo, had his name, Basset, tattooed on his chest, and who was said (although I did not know it until afterwards) to belong to a tribe which claimed to be the original inhabitants of the island.

A native of Tana, one of the Lyner's crew, whom I overheard speaking good English, was also on board during the day, and, on examination, proved to be one of the two men belonging to the British Sovereign, who escaped death at the hands of the people of Vate, when that vessel was wrecked in April, 1847.[1]

[1] See page 329.

He could give no account of the circumstances which led to the massacre, nor had he any knowledge of the fact that the bodies of the slain were eaten, as was asserted. He had lain concealed in the bush for four weeks, protected by a Samoan missionary teacher, when a schooner, the Isabella Anne, belonging to Messrs. Town and Fortheringham, of Sydney, appearing in the offing, he swam off and reached the vessel in safety.

10*th September*.—Nikelo and Basset, who appeared to be on very friendly terms with each other, embarked early this morning in the Undine to accompany the Bishop on another cruise round the bay.

Many large canoes came off with visitors, and one was especially remarkable, as being large enough to contain thirty persons, and being furnished with two sharp-headed sails of matting, laced to long flexible yards, but having somewhat the appearance, when set, of the sprit sails in common use among the Thames barges. Several women were in this canoe, and appeared to be treated as equals by the men, their share of the labour being that of bailing. They asked for "tapa," and were delighted with pieces of printed calico, which some applied as head-dresses and others as petticoats. They brought no supplies of any kind for barter, but the men had a few plain clubs and spears, which they readily parted with for tobacco, or any article of clothing, which I believe in every respect would be the best means for an European to traffic with.

I was unable to land, being detained on board in settling disputes between the master of the Lyner and his crew, one of whom he intended to discharge to the shore, with a forced consent on the part of the man. This illegal practice is very common among all the islands, which are thus inundated with the worst characters from whalers and trading vessels. The places of these men are supplied by the natives of the country, who receive a trifling remuneration for their services, and are often turned adrift

when no longer wanted, at any island where the ship may chance to touch.

Having completed my business, we weighed at 2 P.M., and ran out of the same passage by which we had entered the sound; the Bishop having determined, after visiting some of the villages with the chiefs, to cross this sheet of water to the southward, and endeavour to find an exit in that direction.

On his rejoining me afterwards I learned that he had succeeded in finding a good passage, with five fathoms of water in it, at the fourth or fifth opening from the main land, which would seem to be about twenty miles in length from its northern to its southern extremity. The sound was called by the natives Wēsū, or Uēsū, and they gave the same name to one of the small islands near our anchorage. I suspect, however, that this is some generic term applied both to land and water in particular situations, as the people of Vate in the New Hebrides called the large harbour in which we anchored by the same name; and Mr. Cheyne states that a small island purchased by him, on the south side of the sound at Uea, was also named Wassou.[1] The Bishop had visited two villages in company with the chiefs, and was much pleased with what he saw of the people. At one village he had counted fifty-six children, several of whom would willingly have embarked with him could he have remained a day or two longer. From information gathered from the people, the Bishop estimated the population of the whole island, in round numbers, at 1500 souls only, and from the nature of the reception he met with, he was convinced that an English missionary would receive every encouragement and protection from the chiefs. With the exception of the abortive attempt, however, of L'Arche d'Alliance to land some French priests in 1848, nothing has yet been done to extend a knowledge of Christianity to this island. The

[1] Cheyne's Description, p. 21.

scarcity of supplies, and especially good water, is perhaps the greatest difficulty which would be encountered by the members of a mission attempting it.

Soon after clearing the passage, the course out of which is N. by E., the point of the reef off Beaupré's Island was seen bearing W. by S., the west end of Uea bearing at the same time E. by N. The ship was accordingly kept away west, but breakers being seen ahead we again hauled up W.N.W., getting no soundings with ninety fathoms. At 6 P.M., when Beaupré's Island bore S. ¼ W. six or seven miles, the point of the reef was distinctly seen within half a mile of us, when we again kept away west, and an hour or two later shaped a course to the southward for New Caledonia.[1]

[1] Captain Oliver, of H.M.S. "Fly," who passed some days at Uea, in May, 1850, informs me, that during that time he visited both Nikĕlo's village of Achio, which he describes as consisting of a few conical huts, and that of Fajawāc, the residence of Uiningāc or Joquer. On the latter occasion, the young chief, who had come off a considerable distance to the ship, then under way, accompanied Captain Oliver to the shore, in the evening, when he landed to obtain some equal altitudes of stars. The gig was soon surrounded by a crowd of people of both sexes, and whilst the women were laughing and joking with the crew, some of the boat's brass crutches were cleverly stolen by the men. The chief, when the theft was reported to him, although affecting great anger, showed at first no anxiety to recover the stolen articles; but Captain Oliver, to whom they were indispensable, insisting, and refusing to accept the chief's invitation to his house until they were restored, messengers were sent off, and the men of the tribe, to the number of about a hundred, assembled by torch-light. Not knowing for what purpose they were summoned, they all appeared armed, and having been addressed by the chief, the crutches were *found* in the sand, on the beach, and harmony restored. The chief, who spoke a little English, said, "Great fool Uea man, steal little thing he no want, big ship come and kill him." After the affair was settled, Captain Oliver consented to go to the chief's or common house, which was a long barn-like building of great length, the ordinary houses being conical, like those of New Caledonia.

Uiningāc is described by Captain Oliver as a fine-looking young man, somewhat darker in colour, and with crisper hair, than Nikĕlo, although some mixture of the copper coloured race was apparent. The chiefs of New Caledonia are said to have a strong desire for wives from this island, and it is customary, when a party from Uea goes over to build a large canoe (they having no timber of their own fit for the purpose), that the right to fell such as they may require is purchased by the surrender of a daughter of the principal personage. When at Yengen, in New Caledonia, Captain Oliver fell in with a party of Ueans, who had come over with this object. There were four or five men, with their wives, and several young girls, among whom was pointed out the daughter of the leading man, who was to be left with the New Caledonian chief, as the price of the materials of the canoe.

11*th September*.—At 8.30 A.M., the wind being light from the N.E., we made the high land of New Caledonia, then not more than 5 or 6 leagues distant, the summits of the hills being quite obscured by thick clouds, and at 9 saw the outer reef, which we found afterwards encircled the whole island, and not merely the south-western side, as the imperfect chart in use would indicate.

Several small sandy islets composed that part of the barrier which first presented itself to our view, "connected," as Captain Cook says, "by reefs, in which appeared some openings from space to space;" and a few minutes later, I was enabled still further to verify the correctness of our great circumnavigator's description of this part of the coast, by descrying, "in one of the small isles, an elevation like a tower; and over a low neck of land within the isle many other elevations, resembling the masts of a fleet of ships."[1] These "elevations," which would have seemed even more remarkable to us had we not already seen the extraordinary trees at Uea, were a cluster of the tall "araucaria,"—that on the small island being a single tree of the same species, which, rising from out of some low bushes, resembled, through the haze, the tall chimney of a steam-engine. It was with some surprise that I gazed upon this singular object, which our position identified as the same seen by Captain Cook seventy-five years before.[2] At noon on that day the 'Resolution' was in lat. 20° 41′ S. and long. 1° 8′ east of the observatory isle at Balad, or 165° 34′ E. from Greenwich. Having stood in-shore with a light easterly wind till sunset, at which time the ship was between two or three leagues off the land, the elevation was seen on *one* of the *western* islets. As at noon on this day, after having passed through the reef passage, our position was lat. 20° 51′ S., long. 165° 16′ E., and the islet bore due east of us, there can be but

[1] Cook's Second Voyage, chap. x.
[2] On the 20th September, 1774.

little doubt of its identity, and that the ravages of time have spared this curious beacon, which, having given the name of "One Tree Island" to the spot on which it stands, is well known as a valuable mark for the reef passages by the traders who now frequent the coast.

Leaving, then, this mark on the port-hand, we steered through a passage nearly a mile wide, into a perfectly smooth channel, fronting an open bay, called from the name of the tribe inhabiting it, Sūăkă, having had, since entering the passage, a depth of water varying from 15 to 20 fathoms.

To the north-west of us several more islets were seen, as well as a continuation as far as the eye could reach, of the reef, which near this point leaves the shore in a curve, the outer portion of it, abreast of Yengen, being about 15 miles from the main land. The wind being at N.N.E., we continued working up the channel till nearly 4 P.M., when the weather becoming thick and rainy, we anchored for the night, in company with the Undine, under a small sandy isle on the north end of the reef, in 12½ fathoms, the high land about Yengen bearing west, a remarkable pine-covered point, which I named "Porcupine Point," S.½W., and the south end of the reef S.E. by E. Our shell collectors repaired to the little island and the surrounding reef at low water, but found nothing to repay their exertions. The island seemed to be the resort of the people from the main, for fishing or other purposes, as remains of fires and cooked shell-fish were seen in different places, but no appearances of habitations.

12*th September*.—We got under way as soon as the sun was sufficiently high to enable us to discern shoal patches, and, the wind having returned to its regular S.E. direction, sailed down inside of the reef to Yengen, about fifteen miles, passing several bays and villages on the main land, and leaving six small sandy islands, several of them covered with wood, to seaward.

From one of the villages, which they called Tūău, a canoe load of natives came on board without fear, and six of them remained with us, sending back their canoe to the shore. These men were tall and stout, darker in colour than the Ueans and wearing only the wrapper of Tana, but more absurdly ostentatious, if possible. Some were tattooed, with blue lines down the legs, and one wore a high cylindrical cap, made of thin cloth, resembling paper. They brought no arms with them, excepting small bags of net-work, each containing a sling and about a dozen stones, of a double conical form, made out of a kind of soap-stone, easily cut with a knife. I made two of them, who appeared the principal men, presents of neatly worked bags, which were disposed of, as similar articles were at Taua, by being enveloped in the wrapper, certainly the most singular of pockets. Crowds of women, dressed in black fringes of about a foot wide, were seen, like the Feejeeans, busily employed in collecting shell-fish from the shore reef, and one or two of their huts, with conical roofs, like haycocks, were distinguished among the cocoa-nut trees. The hills above seemed shaped into artificial terraces, highly cultivated, and streams could be seen flowing down their sides in many directions to the sea.

For three miles before reaching Yengen the coast assumed a very extraordinary appearance, being bordered by a range of perpendicular black rocks, nearly 1000 feet in height. These rocks, which have been pronounced to be crystallized limestone, were of the most varied shapes, being fluted down the whole of their surfaces, and rising into points apparently as sharp as needles. Towards Yengen the range breaks into several detached rocks, one only of which stands on the northern side of the harbour, of which it is in fact the north head. A very remarkable one on the south-eastern side, having a striking resemblance to a ruined castle, received from us in consequence the name of "Castle Rock," and the group, which are

The "Gates of Yengen," New Caledonia.

severally named by the natives Weinjo, Pūkū, Yandaik and Tai-iri, we called "the Gates of Yengen." The hills, which rose from the back of this magnificent foreground, were, as high as we could see for the mist, covered with patches of cultivation, and at intervals on their slopes, as well as from the crevices of the lower rocks, the tall spiral pine started up, making a most picturesque addition to the landscape.

Having, in company with the Bishop, reconnoitred and sounded the entrance to the harbour, which I found gradually shoaled from 17 fathoms to 4, I anchored the ship outside of the heads, in 10 fathoms, with the following bearings:—Castle Rock, E.; High Rock, forming north-west entrance, S.W.; and the nearest island on the reef, N.E. ½ E. The Undine entered the port, which, although not land-locked by the two points at its mouth, is, as also the road where the Havannah lay, sheltered to sea-ward by a range of reefs, which, occasionally overlapping each other, extend, as mentioned before, to about 15 miles from the coast.

Although it was again raining heavily, the natives flocked on board as soon as we had anchored, coming off in large canoes similar to those of Uea, and if we might judge by the fire-place of earth constructed on the deck, intended for long voyages. They brought little or nothing for barter, and gave us the notion of being very poor, but were contented to roam about the decks, laughing and cracking jokes with our men and with each other. In the evening they had become on such familiar terms, as readily to consent to get up a dance on the main deck, which we lighted up with a few lanterns for the purpose. Like most savage performances of the kind, the movements consisted in twisting about the body, and sometimes lifting the feet alternately from the ground without change of place. The music was a song, in admirable time, always begun with two or three loud whistlings, and ending in an abrupt yell,

and the accompaniment consisted of a general clapping of hands, one performer playing a bass on his hip. They all begged to be allowed to sleep on board, which was granted, and a space between the guns allotted to them.

13*th September*.—Still raining heavily at times, and the hills clouded; but even with these disadvantages we were all much struck with the beauty both of the country and the coast, the hills to the westward running down to the sea in a succession of capes, one of them the Cape Colnett of Captain Cook. After breakfast, the Bishop, Captain Jenner, and myself, proceeded up the river, called by the natives Kelaut, which runs into the head of the harbour, and on the banks of which stands the house of Buarat, or, as he is called by the English, Basset, the chief of Yengen. Our guide was an Englishman named Griffiths, who had been living here for four years collecting sandalwood and trepang, which he disposes of to any trader who may call. His health having failed him, he came to ask for a passage to Sydney, or at least for permission to remain on board of the ship for medical advice, to which I consented. One or two white men besides were also residing here under Basset's protection, but were absent trading along the coast.

Basset, Chief of Yengen.

We found as much as six feet at high water on the bar at the mouth of the river, which is afterwards navigable for some miles for small vessels, although I have not heard of its being attempted. On a point on the left bank is situated Basset's house, which is, like all the rest, circular, with

Basset's House.

low walls of about four feet in height, with a lofty well-thatched roof, surmounted by a pole carved and painted red, somewhat after the New Zealand fashion, and ornamented with ovula shells. The roof was supported internally by a stout post, made, as were the rafters, out of the lofty pine; but the atmosphere was so oppressive

from the habit of keeping a fire constantly burning, and the rush-strewed floor so full of fleas, that a very few minutes sufficed for our visit. By the side of the chief's house we remarked a sawpit, and were told it belonged to the French mission, who had purchased about two hundred acres of land on the borders of the river. The mission had originally settled at Balad, about thirty miles to the northward, four or five years before; but during the previous year, in consequence of the hostility of the natives, who killed a lay brother of their number, they abandoned the island altogether, and retired to the Isle of Pines. The land here, however, having been regularly sold to them by Basset, was retained for their use, although the chief, perhaps with a notion of flattering us, expressed a wish that they might never return.

We were very civilly received by Basset and his brother, who had both visited Sydney and spoke a little English, the former sufficiently well to maintain a conversation tolerably without the aid of an interpreter. He willingly agreed to our proposal to accompany us for a few miles up the river, where he informed us he had another house, which he would be happy to show us; and as we had not much time to spare, we started immediately to profit by his invitation. Although the weather was not favourable, each turn of the river discovered new beauties, neat trimly-kept houses standing often in very beautiful situations on its banks, with well-constructed landing-places, and a few trees placed in regular order on what appeared to be mown lawns. In one or two places I observed a human skull on the top of a pole planted in a provision ground, and was assured by Basset that they were the heads of friends preserved as a memento. As the chief, however, looked somewhat confused on giving me this explanation, I was induced to make further inquiry, and found they were the heads of persons,

generally women, who had been caught in the act of breaking the "tabu," which, for the purpose of encouraging other cultivation, is periodically placed on the cocoa-nuts. From all we see, it is evident that this part of the country is not generally fertile, but a degree of pains seems to be taken in its cultivation that I never expected to see among savages. The face of the hills above the river is covered with rectangular fields, surrounded by channels for irrigation, which, as far as can be seen from below, is conducted on a careful and scientific system, levels being carried from the streams, which at this season of the year afterwards flow into the river at intervals of a quarter of a mile.

After a row of four or five miles, we arrived at a rich alluvial plain, of small extent, on the right bank, on which stood Basset's house and village, and landed among a population of about a hundred persons of both sexes. Beyond the beautiful scenery of the river, there was not much to be seen here, but we strolled about for an hour among the people, who were very good-natured, but poor and ill-supplied with provisions. The chief was desirous of offering us cocoa-nuts to drink, but would not venture to remove the "tabu" as far as his own people were concerned. One of the Bishop's New Zealand boys, who had accompanied us in the boat, was, however, permitted to pass as one of us, and he climbed a tree and soon supplied our wants. The fragments were eagerly accepted by the poor villagers, to whom the remains of our luncheon brought in the boat, afforded an unwonted treat. Before the scraps were all devoured, Basset sent down a girl with a puppy in her arms, which, as the chief's dog, came in for a large share of the feast. Where animal food is so much prized, it seems extraordinary that no pigs, and few (if any) domestic fowls, should be reared in New Caledonia. The open nature of their provision-grounds, and the scarcity

of good materials for fencing them, is the only reason I have ever heard alleged for this great want—one which, if it does not originate, certainly conduces to the continuance of the odious practice of cannibalism. The few domestic animals left at Balad by Captain Cook, seem to have been destroyed soon after his departure. The re-introduction of dogs and a few goats is owing to the French mission, and Basset had at this village the useless incumbrance of a horse lately brought from Sydney, which, fat as a pig, was grazing among some rich pastures of fine natural grass.

I had no means of judging of the extent of Basset's authority among his own tribe; but it was evident from the people, particularly the women, crouching as they passed him, that his superiority was fully acknowledged. He is a man apparently about thirty, and of quiet and rather dignified manner. The white people give him the credit of having been a great tyrant and cannibal, until his intercourse with a somewhat better class of English and his visit to Sydney. During our short acquaintance he seemed to me to be a man much in advance of his own people, and anxious to do something to civilize them. He was urgent with the Bishop, whose simple dignity of manner made an immediate impression on him, to send an English missionary to settle here; and before parting, he voluntarily engaged to set apart a plot of rich ground on the river, not far from his own village, for a residence, promising, moreover, that two good dwelling-houses should be built on it before next year.

No restriction seemed to be placed on the women with respect to the strangers, although at first they showed great alarm at any attempts on our part to approach or address them. A present of a smart bracelet to the least frightened had its usual effect of quieting their fears, and during the remainder of our stay they conversed with us

as freely as the men, who seemed, however, to keep them in great subjection. They had the same disfiguring habit of cropping the hair which we remarked at Vate, but were not otherwise ill-looking, their dress being merely a band generally of black filaments about nine inches wide, tied round the hips. Besides the fashion of a cylindrical cap worn by some of the men, we remarked a curious mode of dressing the hair in a species of projecting cue, frizzed out to a great size at the end; a hair-pin, or scratcher, being generally worn as in the Feejees. With their scanty clothing, both men and women seemed to feel the cold severely, Basset and his brother being the only two who, being clad in cotton shirts, were enabled to disregard it; the others stood shivering in the rain, occasionally wringing out their pendent wrappers to our men's great amusement.

On passng Basset's house, at the mouth of the river, on our return, I noticed a curious mask fastened as an ornament to the gunwale of his large canoe, which lay alongside of the bank. It represented exactly the face of an European Punch; and the curved nose, so unlike the features of the people, induced us to believe that it must have been a copy of some drawing which had found its way to this distant spot. The chief, however, who immediately begged my acceptance of the mask, assured us that such was not the case, but that these figures, under slightly different forms, were common in the island. There seemed a doubt, both in his mind and the white men's present, whether or not anything of a religious character was attached to these figures. The one in question was adorned on either side by a branch of red coral, to express, as they said, its connexion with the sea; and it seemed to be considered as a kind of patron saint of the canoe, although but little value was set upon it.[1]

[1] La Billardière, the historian of M. d'Entrecasteaux's Voyage, gives, among

Basset and his brother accompanied me to dinner, and slept on board at their own desire.

The natives, who had crowded the ship during the whole day, coming on board by twenty or thirty at a time in the two or three large canoes which the place afforded, got up their dances this night with even greater spirit than the last; and at least forty of them remained on board during the night, a rocket being fired and a blue light burned for their amusement, before they retired to rest.

14*th September*.—An intermission in the south-east trade again occurred this morning, the wind being light from the northward, with fine weather, the barometer standing at 29·94; very little below its average. One of the natives was brought on deck, charged with having stolen, or attempted to steal, several articles of clothing belonging to one of the officers, and a seaman's frock, with which he was attempting to make his escape to the shore. Basset, who was present, affected to show great indignation with the culprit, and asked for the loan of the sentry's musket to shoot him through the head. I had no notion, however, that he had any such wish or intention, as the others made very light of the matter, and seemed to consider the theft as a slight and venial offence. A complaint was also made to the chief, of the behaviour of a party of about a dozen, who had, the day before, thrown a volley of stones at some of our officers whilst leaving the shore (where they had been picking shells and bathing) in the jolly-boat. It appeared, on inquiry, that some of these men, seeing a boat leaving the beach, had seated themselves in her, for a passage to the ship; and on being forcibly ejected, had taken revenge in the way stated, but without doing anybody any injury. As I thought the offence very pardonable, I interceded

the plates, one of a New Caledonian mask; which differs, however, from the one in question, in being without the exaggerated hooked nose. Where that feature was derived from, it is difficult to say.

with Basset in favour of the leader of the party, who had been afterwards recognized on board, and ordered, as I thought, with the intention of punishing him, into the chief's canoe. The man was, of course, immediately liberated, with a warning from the chief, on whom I endeavoured to impress the impolicy of allowing his people to take the law into their own hands, and provoke quarrels, in which they were ultimately certain to be worsted. All these points being settled, and a present given to Basset of cotton-cloth, shirts, tomahawks, and a few trifling articles, he retired to his canoe, and we prepared to get under way. The Bishop proceeded to the Undine, taking with him a nice-looking boy, who had agreed to go to New Zealand, a proposal which had also met the approval of the lad's father on the day previous.

It cannot be expected that a stay among them of two days should enable me to form any decided opinion, or to give any exact description, of a people new to us. With respect to their outward appearance and customs, indeed, Captain Cook, whose accuracy was never more conspicuous to us than here, has already supplied the deficiency, in his account of the people of Balad, a district about thirty-five miles from Yengen, to which, until we see more of them, I beg to refer the reader. Even had we not previously visited the Feejees, I should have set them down, with Captain Cook, "as a race between the people of Tana and of the Friendly Islands, or between those of Tana and the New Zealanders, or all three;"[1] and I believe that further researches into their origin will (taking the people of Tana as representing the original negro race of the Pacific) tend to prove the correctness of Captain Cook's supposition, and the identity (with more or less of the Polynesian infusion) of this race with the Feejeeans.

If we may believe the universal testimony of the traders

[1] Cook's Second Voyage, chap. ix.

and white men who have resided among them, the reproach of cannibalism rests in but a slightly inferior degree on this people. That they are often engaged in war was evident, from the fresh scars and spear-wounds we saw on many of their bodies; two tribes, the Pinji, living on the coast, and the Paik, on the hills, being those mentioned as their most inveterate enemies. They showed no jealousy of their women; indeed, some of the officers told me that women were freely offered to them by the men for tobacco, but their looseness in this particular may probably be chargeable upon bad European example. The Englishman who embarked here stated that syphilis did not prevail among them, but that gonorrhœa, introduced, according to his account, by the crew of an American vessel, was not uncommon.

I append a list of their numerals, which, it will be remarked, have no resemblance to those procured by Mr. Forster at Balad, although (allowing for the difference of modern orthography) I have reason to believe that his were not far from correct, and that the dialects spoken in the two districts may almost be termed different languages:—

	Yengen Numerals.	Balad Numerals according to Forster.[1]
One	Hets	Par-ai
Two	Heluk	Par-roo
Three	Heyen	Par-gen
Four	Pobits	Par-bai
Five	Nim	Pa-nim
Six	Nim-wet	Par-ai
Seven	Nim-weluk	Par-roo
Eight	Nim-weyen	Par-gen
Nine	Nim-pobit	Par-bai
Ten	Pain-duk	Pa-nim

I have before remarked on the capacity of the Tanese for the pronunciation of English words, which is not less conspicuous among the New Caledonians. Both Basset and his brother only required practice to enable them to

[1] Forster's Voyage, page 284.

speak the language fluently; and words which a Polynesian could seldom hope to master, were picked up with the greatest ease by any of the people.

If Yengen offers a fair specimen of the fertility of the island, ships can never expect to obtain supplies here, to any amount. Water, at least in the wet season, forms an exception, as it flows from the mountains into the sea, in all directions; and we completed our water at a beautiful stream, which almost fell into the boat, a little outside of the bar of the river, which we had not, therefore, to cross.

Sandalwood is altogether wanting in the district, or is so scarce as not to form an article of traffic. The traders have therefore, in general, deserted this port for others to the southward, where that commodity is more plentiful. Trepang is found on the reefs, and the white men, who are attracted hither by the security afforded by Basset's protection, collect small quantities, either for the masters of vessels, or on their own account, disposing of it to chance visitors.

Mr. Hilliard's observations placed the "Castle Rock" in lat. 20° 40′ S., long. 164° 50′.

We were under sail before 8 o'clock, and profiting by the northerly wind, which gradually drew a few points to the westward, and enabled us to steer directly back through the channel by which we had approached Yengen on the 12th. The Bishop, desirous of exploring a direct passage to sea which we were told existed to the northward, hauled his wind in the Undine, passing between two of the sandy islets off the harbour's mouth, and was soon lost sight of.

We again sailed past the bays and villages of Pai, Gouma, and Tūāū, the native names of which we had learned at Yengen. The reefs off the latter, which apparently form a snug interior harbour, were, as before, crowded with the women gathering shell-fish, and on the small island opposite, under which we had anchored on the 11th, five canoes were hauled up, the people having probably landed

for the same purpose. Passing Porcupine Point we steered out of Suaka Bay, by the same passage between the reefs. by which we had entered, seeing again the excellent sea-mark of One Tree Island to the S.E. After being well clear of the barrier reef, we ran with the wind still light from the N.W. 35 miles, on an E. ½ N. course, then E. ½ S. 20 miles to avoid any dangers which might exist on the south side of Uea, and afterwards hauled up N.E. by E. ½ E., which brought us in sight of the island of Lifu by daybreak.

15th September.—At 8 A.M. we distinguished the N.W. point of Lifu, and stood into a large bay, of which it forms one side, in an angle of which we anchored at 11 o'clock in 13 fathoms, the bluff or western head, covered with pine-trees, bearing W.S.W., the south point of the Great Bay S.S.W. 13 or 14 miles, and the eastern point of the smaller one in which we lay, E

On the beach, at the distance of about a mile from us, lay two wrecks of British vessels, the brig Sarah and schooner Castlereagh of Sydney, which had gone on shore in the hurricane of the 11th of February, 1848, and had occasioned the master of the Lyner, Mr. Strachan, to whom I was indebted for a correct sketch of the anchorage, to give it the name of Wreck Bay. The remains of a palisade near the vessels pointed out the temporary residence of the crews, and the huts of a native village, resembling those of New Caledonia, were seen among a few cocoa-nut trees at a short distance from the shore. The appearance of the land differs from that of Uea, in being much higher, the bluff point being between 200 and 300 feet in height, and its western side a steep wall, on which were seen two or three rows of very distinct lines resembling tide-marks, the lowest being not less than 60 feet above the level of the sea. Shoal patches lie at intervals along the shore, but there is neither a fringing nor barrier reef, and on the summit of the cliff the lofty pine seems to grow out of the bare coral rock.

We had not been long at an anchor, before the surface of the bay was seen dotted with the heads of the natives who, both men and women, were swimming off to the ship. A few had a rough log of wood as a kind of assistance, but it was not till later in the day that one or two small outrigger canoes, and a rude raft, or catamaran, made their appearance, the latter being occupied and sculled almost entirely by women. The first salutations of these poor people, generally accompanied by a smile that betokened their ignorance of the purport of the words, were the foulest English oaths, a legacy, and not the worst (for I afterwards understood disease was another), left them by the wrecked crews, who had resided six or eight months in the bay. As I was not desirous that the practical part of their English education should be exhibited on board, the women were all informed that the ship was "tabu," the swimmers being admitted into the chains, and the others confined to their raft, which was made fast alongside. Many of them were perfectly naked, but on pieces of cotton cloth being given to them, they were always applied as aprons, the native substitute for which was a fringe resembling that of Uea. The men's costume was not more elaborate, a narrow band, or even a wooden hoop, or withe, with the ends knotted together, being applied in a manner that satisfied their sense of decency. They brought nothing for barter, but were importunate beggars for tobacco and food of any kind, a supply of which, principally biscuit, reconciled the women in some degree to their exclusion, and they all left the ship before sunset, either as they came, or in our boats, which were put at their disposal.

16*th September*.—The Undine was in sight this morning, having been becalmed all night. In coming into the bay she ran upon a shoal patch under Bluff Head, but soon backed off, and anchored close to us.

It being Sunday, the ship was kept as quiet as possible until the conclusion of our service, at which the Bishop

officiated. A few natives, who had swam off, were admitted on board, and the rest kept in their canoes. They seemed to have no notion of worship, and had probably never seen Europeans so engaged before, but they were orderly when they saw we desired quiet. After service we were again thronged, the women, no way daunted by their repulse the day before, swimming off in considerable numbers, and being as inhospitably received. With few exceptions, each person carried a flat basket of not inelegant workmanship, either adorned with tufts of red worsted, or of dark-coloured threads made from the fur of the flying fox. This basket, or pouch, was sometimes slung round the waist, hanging in front like the "sporran" of a highlander, and occasionally worn on the head, like a shade for the eyes, its position allowing it to remain dry when the owner is in the water. These baskets seemed to constitute almost all their earthly possessions, if we except calabashes for containing water, which are neatly slung with string of cocoa-nut fibre, and are indispensable articles of furniture in an island where water is scarce and indifferent, and a few rude but powerful clubs, made out of the natural roots of trees.

On inquiring for "Jenet," a chief of this district, whose name had been mentioned to me by the missionaries at Samoa, a young man was pointed out as his son, and I engaged him to accompany us to his village, which was represented to be about a mile distant from the beach, and where I expected to find his father. The Bishop and I landed accordingly, and, having escaped with some difficulty from the importunities of the young ladies who begged eagerly for tobacco and pipes, walked on for about a mile and a half by a narrow footpath, through alternate woods and grassy glades, to the village. The scenery, although tame, was prettier than I had expected to find it, and the village was composed of a few circular huts, each enclosed by a fence of thick sticks, which is entered by a kind of half-fortified door, the whole forming a set of tortuous paths like a labyrinth. A few

hideous women, both young and old, their faces generally daubed with black, and their skins covered with sores, were lounging about, attending the children, and seemed pleased to see us, but no intelligible answer could we get to our inquiries for the old chief, Jenet, to whom our visit was intended. At last a closed hut was pointed out as his, with an intimation that it was "tabu," and the chief himself "Massi-polua," which we for the first time discovered to mean, dead and buried, so we retraced our steps to the beach. The provision-grounds, which adjoined the village, were tolerably well cultivated, but the soil is evidently much less fertile than in the volcanic islands, and even the cocoa-nuts were inferior in size and number to those in the New Hebrides. We were joined on our walk back by a respectable looking man, a native of the Cape Verd Islands, who had left our English sandalwood trader some months since and wished me to give him a passage to Sydney. On my agreeing to do so, he sent off two of his native friends to a village at some distance for his chest, which he said was too valuable to leave behind. The two men urged that the chief would never permit them to carry off the property, and would certainly retain it himself, but the energy of the Portuguese could not be roused, and he despatched his messengers and sauntered down to the beach in our train.

Whilst waiting for our boat, a host of men, daubed from head to foot with lime, the most ghastly group I ever saw, surrounded us, begging most pertinaciously for tobacco, and promising in return quantities of sandalwood ("Kabukai") should we remain another day. We were only relieved from their importunities by the admirable patience of the Bishop, and the appearance on a point of land, at a short distance, of the chief of another tribe, "Sumāko," who had sent a message expressing his desire to come on board, but not being on very friendly terms with the others, who assured us he was "no good," did not choose to trust himself among them. We found him a sharp, intelligent

fellow, but with rather a swaggering manner and an odious jabber of English slang words, his only article of dress being an old straw hat, to which, as soon as we arrived, I added a shirt, to the great improvement of his appearance. Some of the officers told me afterwards, that having been invited into the gun-room, he was subjected to a sharp cross-examination on the subject of cannibalism, which without hesitation he acknowledged was the general practice of the country with respect to the bodies of enemies; adding, that as we ate pork, we could not be surprised at their eating flesh which so nearly resembled it. At the same time he repudiated the notion of eating the bodies of white men, but as he did not give as a reason the unpalatable quality of the flesh, as the Feejeeans do, the exception was probably only intended as a compliment to his company.

Among the people on board during the day were several who had returned from their forced visit to New South Wales, to which I alluded when speaking of them. Their experience had apparently excited the curiosity of their countrymen, although the recollection of the treatment they had met with, left no desire to return in their own persons. One fine-looking lad of fourteen or fifteen was very pressing with me to take him to see "Sydney," which word generally implies with all these islanders the country of the English strangers, and, on my agreeing to do so, adhered to his determination to go with us, in spite of the ridicule of a friend who had been there. When I inquired of the latter his reasons for dissuading the boy, he answered in English, which he spoke quite intelligibly, "Too much work at Sydney, too little eat!" Although I doubted exceedingly the latter part of the allegation, I could readily understand that continuous labour, without a directly visible object, such as must have been the lot of these people in New South Wales, could not at once have been made palatable to men who are accustomed to look forward only to the satisfaction of their daily wants. I may anti-

cipate so far as to mention that the lad who went with us (receiving the name of "George Havannah") was of a gentle and tractable disposition, but had no steady application, although he picked up English without difficulty. On our arrival at Sydney, his great delight was driving about in the butcher's cart, which brought down our fresh provisions each morning, a gratification one could not feel it in one's heart to deny him. On one of his excursions he met a fellow-countryman, a domestic servant at Balmain, a suburb of Sydney, who induced him to leave the ship and take a similar engagement. Having ascertained that the boy was in good hands and perfectly contented, I took no steps to induce him to return, and a year afterwards I was accosted by him in the street, in the dress and with the appearance of a smart footman.

The Bishop, whose little vessel had not the same attraction in the eyes of these people as the large ship, succeeded, however, in adding to the number of his boys one of this island, who embarked with him at once, and, the evening being fine, the Undine got under way for the island of Mare, where we were again to meet.

As we were to sail before daybreak, the ship was cleared of visitors at sunset, Sumako, and one or two of his people who accompanied him, being landed at their own point, and all leaving in seeming satisfaction with our visit.

Physically, the people of Lifu whom we saw, do not differ much from the Ueans, and the same variety of colour and texture of the hair which we there remarked was found here also. In general they are lighter coloured than the Ueans, and the contrast between them in this respect and the New Caledonian boy whom the Bishop had brought from Yengen, was very marked. The hair, whether straight or crisp, was, in the case of the men and boys, generally stained brown with lime, and often combed out so as to hang on the shoulders, the women's being

cropped short.[1] Some of the men have figures of birds, &c., tattooed and coloured blue, on their arms, and no appearance of circumcision was noticed among them. Their language was evidently quite distinct from that spoken at Uea, and we recognized in it but few Polynesian words.

As in the former island, they spoke of two large tribes who were often at war with each other, and they described that in the south as speaking a different tongue. The southern tribe was also said to have been lately quarrelling among themselves in consequence of the death of their old chief, Bula, a man favourably known both to the missionaries and sandalwood traders.

I annex a list of the Lifu numerals, procured by the Rev. Mr. Inglis (on a subsequent cruise in the Havannah), from a native of the island, then on a visit to New Caledonia, showing no connexion with those of any other language we have any knowledge of.

	Lifu Numerals.
One	Chas
Two	Luete
Three	Kunete
Four	Ekete
Five	Tibi
Six	Chalemen
Seven	Luengemen
Eight	Kunengemen
Nine	Ekengemen
Ten	Lue-ipi

The London Mission Society dispatched two Samoan or Rarotongan teachers to Lifu in 1843, and they continued to live among the people until lately, when intestine wars obliged them to remove to Mare. They seem not to have effected much in the way of conversion; Bula, who is now dead, being the only chief with whom they had any influence. It was, however, the Bishop of New Zealand's

[1] One of the crisp-haired boys of this island, brought to England by the late Mr. James Boyd, and now in H.M.S. "Herald," Captain Denham, was presented at the Ethnological Society as a Feejeean, which race the dark Loyalty islanders in some respects resemble.—See Latham's 'Varieties of Man,' p. 262.

opinion that an English missionary would now be in perfect security in the island, and would probably be as successful in the great work of civilization as among any of the other tribes of Melanesia.

The natives were described by the missionaries, two years after the first arrival of the teachers, as making some progress. They said,

"Christianity has gained a footing at Lifu. From thirty to forty of the people attend upon the instructions of the teachers every day. On Sabbath many more regularly attend divine service. Bula, the principal chief of half the island, is hopeful. He has lately given up cannibalism. Formerly he has had as many as sixteen cooked bodies laid before him at a meal. Now, he not only abstains from it himself, but has declared that death will be the penalty to any of his family who ever again tastes human flesh."

The people generally were, however, in the ordinary condition of the lowest class of savages:—

"They go about in a state of perfect nudity, and are most inveterate cannibals. The island is politically divided into two parties, who live on the most barbarous terms, constantly lurking for victims on either side, which, when found, are dressed for the oven. They invoke the spirits of their departed chiefs. They preserve relics of their dead, such as a finger nail, a tooth, a tuft of hair, or some such thing, and pay divine homage to it. They have a Hades too, which they call Locha. Laulaati is the name of their creator, who, they suppose, made a stone, out of which came the first man and woman. The Lifu people are industrious and build good large round houses."[1]

With the exception of the native of the Cape Verd Islands, no foreigners are now living in the island, but we heard much of a notorious character, by the name of Cannibal Charley, an Englishman who had resided here for several years, but had quitted Lifu about fifteen months before, as trading master of a Sydney vessel.

Lifu, like the other barren coral islands, is said to abound with sandalwood, which, indeed, is the only inducement to foreign traders. The only article of food I saw offered for barter was sugar-cane in small quantities,

[1] Samoan Reporter for September, 1845.

and their scanty provision-grounds could not have supplied much more of yams, taro, and bananas than is required for their own consumption. They spoke of having a few fowls, but we saw none, nor do they possess any pigs.

Water is very scarce and brackish, being only found in natural wells in the coral rock. By the chief's permission, who claimed the pine trees[1] on the point as his property, we cut two of the largest and straightest we could find; one of which afterwards made us a good cross jack-yard. We could see neither small plants nor cones, but specimens were subsequently procured from other quarters.

17*th September*.—At 1.50 A.M., the officer of the watch and those on deck felt a distinct shock of an earthquake, accompanied by a rumbling noise. A boat was sent on shore at four o'clock to bring off the Cape Verd man, who was to have come on board the previous night, but after waiting for an hour she returned without him, and the ship was got under sail. A light northerly wind dying away, we found ourselves drifted close to some coral patches with only a few feet water on them, on the N.E. side of the bay, and were obliged to employ all our boats in towing us clear. This anchorage cannot be called a safe one, the holding ground being indifferent, and the bottom irregular. It is quite open to the S.W., and to the southward the land is so distant as to leave ample fetch for a heavy sea to roll in, should the wind, as is often the case during the hurricane months, set in from that direction.

The trade-wind, after an interval of more than three days, set in as we cleared the bay, and we continued to work to the southward along the coast, which is low and barren, but bristling in places with high pine trees. No houses were seen on the land, and only one canoe was observed during the day, coming out from under the

[1] Called here "Goëti."

south point of the Great Bay, which bears from the N.W. point S.W. by S., and is distant from it fourteen miles. We tacked off the S.E. point of the island, sixteen miles further to the South, about sunset, the steep face of the coral rock resembling here a breastwork pierced with embrasures for artillery, and beat to windward, in short tacks, during the night.

18*th September*.—At daylight the Undine was in sight to leeward, and having left Lifu far off in the N.W., we found ourselves close up to a small coral island, called by the French Isle Hamelin, Mare bearing from N.E. by E. to E. by S., and the high land of New Caledonia also indistinctly seen in the S.S.W. We soon made out M. d'Urville's Isle Molard, off Cape Mackau, and to the northward Isles Vauvilliers and Boucher, the latter called by the natives Tika, and said to be inhabited, which the other small islets, being apparently bare coral rocks, are not. We stood in towards the land, and passing between Isle Molard and Cape Mackau, the shores being to all appearance of the same steep nature as the south-western side of Lifu, rounded to off the Cape, to communicate with a canoe coming out of a bay to the eastward.

Two Samoan missionary teachers came on board from her and informed us that there were five more in the island, three of whom were at Keāmă, the residence of the principal chief, lying on the coast, ten or twelve miles to the southward. These men represented the natives as fast improving, all the western coast of the island being nominally Christian, those on the eastern side, although heathens, being well behaved, and at peace with their neighbours. The district in which they lived they called Tuēlŏ, and the chief of it Kētiwān, and they described a bay under the N.W. point, called Pappa, as affording good anchorage, and as the spot where Mr. Paddon's vessel the Brigand, lay, when seventeen of her crew were killed in an affray with the natives in 1843; a cutter (the Sisters) belonging to

Sydney having been cut off and her crew massacred at Keama, about the same time. The last sandalwood trader which had called at this part of the island, about a year and a quarter ago, was commanded by Mr. Lewis, a master in the employ of Mr. Towns, of Sydney, well known in the trade, and all had gone on well during her stay.

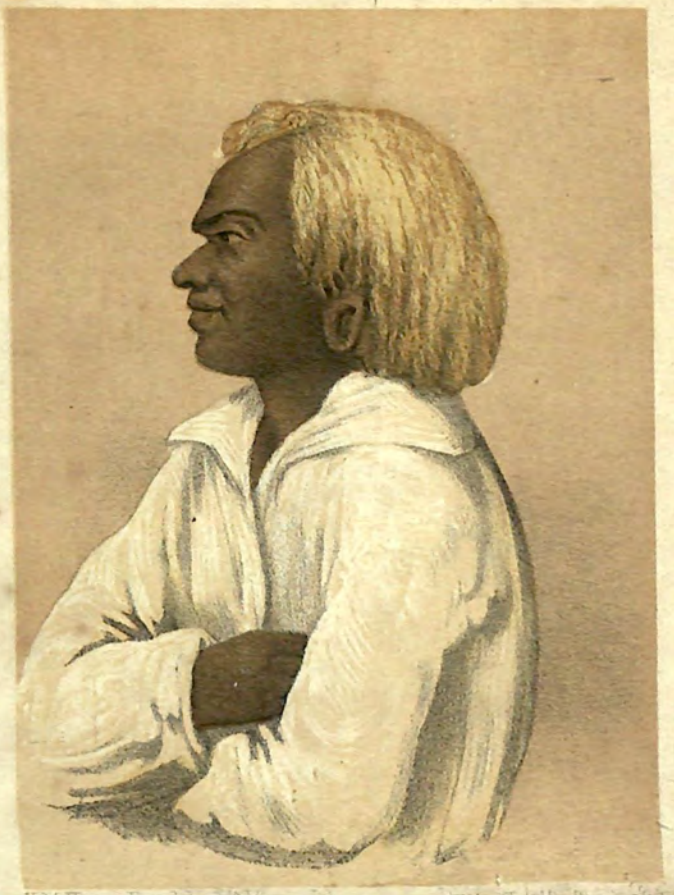
One white man only, to their knowledge, was living on the island, and he was at Keama. His name, they said, was Jimmy, and he had arrived some time before, having been driven off from Lifu, together with the man known as Cannibal Charley, who, however, had since quitted Mare. As they could not conveniently leave their station to accompany us to Keama, where I wished to communicate with the chief, they returned to the shore, and we bore up to the southward to look for the settlement.

After running down the coast for about the distance specified by the teachers, and seeing no appearance of a village, I sent the cutter with the second master, inshore to sound, but, as it was becoming dark, no anchorage could be found. As the boat returned, however, a musket-shot was heard from the shore, and presently an outrigger canoe shoved out of a snug, apparently landlocked, cove, and paddled off to us. She contained three black men, who turned out, however, not to be natives of the island: one being a native of the Isle of Pines, and the other two of Lifu. They said the people were very much frightened at our appearance, never having seen so large a ship, and were apprehensive that we had come to punish them for having killed white men some years before. They had evidently been sent to reconnoitre, on the supposition that their character of foreigners would preserve them from injury, and the canoe they came in was not their own property, as they jumped out of her as soon as she was fast alongside, and she immediately capsized. I sent one of our men down the ship's side to endeavour to right and save her; but the outrigger being broken, this

Plate 4

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

Dr. H. N. Turnbull del. J. A. Vinter lith. Day & Son, Lithrs. to The Queen



K. M. Knapp, Esq. del. J. A. Vinter lith. Day & Son, Lithrs. to The Queen

...ERIOR CHIEF OF NEW CALEDONIA

NAISILINI CH...

could not be effected, and we were obliged to cut her adrift, having recovered our man with some difficulty. The men who had come off in her said she was "massi polua," but did not trouble themselves about the loss, and willingly remained on board during the night, the ship standing off and on.

19*th September*.—At 8 A.M. a canoe came off from the cove with another crew of foreigners, Mucka, a missionary teacher from Rarotonga, an Englishman named James Reece, whom we had heard spoken of the day before as Jimmy, and three men of pure Tongan blood, born on the island, their fathers and mothers having been blown off from Tonga many years before (how many they knew not), in several canoes, by a "strong wind." I looked at these people with the strongest interest, as the first actual illustration of those migrations which have peopled many of the various groups of islands, and are now changing the character and language of others; but, although I had afterwards living testimony of the truth of their story from the mouth of the only survivor of the party, an aged woman, the events of that long voyage and the whole history of her early life seemed to have almost entirely passed from her memory. The young men themselves, with wives of their own race, we were told, lived in some degree apart from the natives of the island, still preserving many of their original country's habits; but it can require but another generation to effect a complete amalgamation with the black race, whose habits and language are at the same time operated upon by the comparatively large number of six Polynesian teachers.

The account which James Reece, a diminutive, sickly-looking man, gave of himself, dated back only to between five and six years, when he had been landed on Lifu by Mr. Lewis, to collect sandalwood, in which employment he continued for about four years. Eighteen months before our arrival, Bula, the old blind chief previously spoken of, with

whom Reece had lived at his village of Natha, having died, a civil war broke out in consequence, in which three hundred people were slain, and Nasoni, Bula's brother, who claimed the chieftainship, was driven off the island. He fled, with several of his followers, including the two Englishmen, to Mare, whither he was pursued by his enemies, but protected by Jēŭe, the chief of Keama, where he had since remained. By Reece's account, peace was now restored in Lifu; and he had received notice that fifty tons of sandalwood, which he had left at Natha on the occasion of his flight, would be restored to him on his return.[1] Jeue had also died four months before our arrival, and the government of his tribe was at present, during the minority of his son Bula, carried on by two brothers of the name of Naisĭlīnĭ, and a third chief, Tike, who was said to have on more than one occasion interfered to save the lives of white men when doomed to death by his countrymen. The Undine, which was seen beating to the northward looking for Keama, was recalled as soon as this intelligence was brought to us by the canoe; and a message having been sent by the Tongans that the Bishop and I would visit the chiefs in the course of a few hours, the little vessel was anchored in an outer cove, protected to seaward by a coral reef, which our cutter had vainly attempted to find an entrance to, on the previous evening.

I found another teacher, Tui, a Samoan, with the Bishop, and, together with several of our officers, we proceeded on shore in the cutter. On entering the little land-locked cove, or boat-harbour, the first object which met our eyes was part of a canoe, inserted, at a considerable distance above the sea, into a cave or crevice in the rock, to which it was fastened by several turns of an iron chain. This, we were informed, was the coffin and burial-place of Jeue;

[1] Lieut. Pollard, who visited Lifu in the "Bramble" in August, 1850, found that Reece had returned thither with Nasoni the chief, who had been solicited by his tribe to come back to them.

and the securing chain was said to be part of the cable of an English vessel formerly cut off by this tribe.

It being nearly high-water, we landed easily on a beautiful sandy beach in a little cove quite shut off from the sea, but with only a few feet of water over the bottom of sand and coral. We then found ourselves in the midst of a small village, with a broad walk leading up to what we took for the common house, a large circular structure, resembling exactly those of New Caledonia; the whole population, to the amount of between three and four hundred persons, being seated on either hand in solemn silence, and two chiefs, Naisilini and Tike, in the centre, just within the eaves of the building. We had in no instance yet, met with so formal a reception, and it was evident, from the anxiety depicted on the countenances of all present, that they considered the great question of forgiveness or punishment for past offences was now to be settled.

We took the seats, between the two chiefs, which had been left vacant for us, and, after a short pause, the business was opened. After recounting some of the stories I had heard of the seizure of vessels and massacres of white men, I alluded to the account, just received from the missionary teachers, of the improved disposition and abandonment of savage customs, and concluded by saying that, in consequence of their altered habits and the contrition I understood they had expressed for their former misdeeds, I was willing to forget the past, and would inflict no punishment or insist on any further proof of their sincerity, than the surrendering immediately to me any articles formerly belonging to the unfortunate vessels which had fallen a prey to their treachery.

The first few sentences of this speech, translated by Reece, were listened to with great anxiety; but when the pacific tenor of the latter part became apparent, the greatest relief was testified by all present. Scarcely had the demand for the remains of the vessels left the inter-

preter's lips, when two or three men appeared, dragging in several lengths of the chain-cable of the cutter Sisters, which, with an iron mast-hoop, and other trifles of the kind, hastily collected, were piled up close to where I was sitting. I took no notice of these things until Naisilini had finished his reply, the tenor of which was, as usual, their regret at having known no better, but their good fortune in having had the advantages of missionary teaching, which had opened their eyes to their former follies, &c. &c. It was added, however, either by Naisilini or another person present, that Jeue, the chief, had had no hand in the capture of the cutter or the massacre of the crew; the instigator having been his son, who had been beaten with a rope's-end by the mate of the vessel in a quarrel about the price of sandalwood, and had afterwards perished in an accidental explosion of some of the gunpowder which they had brought on shore. The chief concluded by saying that all things belonging to the Sisters were now here, excepting a few articles which had been taken to Tuelo, which should be laid aside for my disposal, and a piece of the chain-cable employed to secure old Jeue's coffin, which we had seen in the cove, and which would be delivered if I required it. I disclaimed any intention of disturbing the dead, and in permitting them to retain the chain in question, desired that it might express in future that our animosities were buried with the chief—a figure of speech which was much applauded. I concluded by expressing the satisfaction I had felt in being informed of Tike's good offices to my countrymen, and by presenting him in consequence with a gift of a few shirts, some yards of calico, and a tomahawk, to his infinite satisfaction. The Bishop of New Zealand then addressed the people, and would have had a more attentive hearing if the joy in being released from their fears and the anxiety to barter with our officers and men for the most trifling articles of European manufacture, had

not thrown the population into a ferment of excitement which rendered any conversation on serious subjects impossible for the time.

We retired from the crowd with Tike to his house, situated close at hand, and differing from the others in being of an oblong form, probably an innovation of the Tongans. Unlike the Tongan habitations, however, it was closed all round, the only aperture being the door, and, as a fire was constantly kept burning, the smoke would not allow us to keep an eye open, and seemed to have affected even those of the natives. Short as had been the Bishop's acquaintance with these people, a proposition which he made to take two boys with him to Auckland for their education was immediately accepted, one of the volunteers being a lad of apparently eighteen or nineteen years of age, named Siapo, of very pleasing looks, who had attached himself to the Bishop from the moment of his landing.[1] Accompanied by these lads and the teachers, we walked to inspect the latter's modest cottage, built and plastered in the manner taught them in Samoa. The country looked very poor, and, we were told, was even more bare than usual, the whole of the crop of yams having been destroyed by the hurricanes of February or March last. It was evident, however, that want of water is the great drawback to these low coral islands ; the only well to supply this district being a deep hole, into which the eldest of the Bishop's volunteers descended with difficulty, bringing up a small quantity of brackish and dirty water for us to taste.

On returning to the village we found the trading going on as briskly as ever, calico and tobacco[2] being the

[1] This young man turned out as well as he promised, and was sent back by the Bishop the following year. It is to be hoped this excellent prelate will give the world an account of these disciples.

[2] It is interesting to notice the great craving for this luxury on the part of the New Caledonians and Loyalty Islanders, who possess neither the stimulants of the Polynesian's Kava, nor the Areca and Betel used by the northern Melanesians.

objects most coveted by the natives, whose means consisted of plain spears, clubs of curious shape, resembling the beak of a bird, gourds of all sizes, more beautifully slung than at Lifu, and round baskets, netted or plaited, of a grassy fibre, and different from those of the neighbouring islands.[1] They had no vegetables to dispose of, and I saw but about half a dozen fowls and only one pig, for which a large price was asked and given. Apart from the throng, the old Tongan woman, spoken of before, was pointed out, but her faculties were nearly gone; and a poor, sickly Lifu woman, with a puny half-caste child, was presented to me by Reece as his wife, who had escaped with him from her native island. The people in general resembled those of Lifu, but had remarkably fine eyes, and high, well-formed foreheads. The men wore no wrappers, and some of them had their faces painted in regular white lines, which gave them a horrid appearance, and I believe was done as a sign of mourning; many of the women were naked, and tattooed on the belly. The fashion of dyeing the hair different shades of brown and combing it out long, prevails here, as at the other islands of the group. The effect of the colouring-wash seems to be to soften the hair, so that the ends have a silky feel and appearance; but the roots, on examination, were always found to retain their original black colour and

[1] Among a small collection of articles made for me in the following year, at the depôt near Hobart Town, by the few remaining aboriginal natives of Van Diemen's Land, as specimens of their native manufactures, were two baskets of precisely similar form and texture to these of Mare. The similarity is so striking, that had they not been severally ticketed by myself at the time, I should have supposed they had been marked by mistake.

The curious phenomenon of a crisp or almost woolly haired race occupying Van Diemen's Land, whilst the continent of New Holland, inhabited by people with flowing, silky hair, and distinct physical characteristics, intervenes between them and the nearly similar Polynesian negroes, has naturally attracted the attention of ethnologists. Without laying too much stress on this resemblance or identity of an article of native manufacture, which, however, could hardly have been the result of chance, we may be allowed to add the fact to the other proofs or presumptions, that the Tasmanian blacks arrived at their destination, as a late writer observes, "round Australia rather than across it."—See Latham's 'Natural History of the Varieties of Man,' p. 246.

crisp texture. I did not even succeed in getting their numerals, but the language sounded like a mixture of a Melânesian dialect with the Polynesian, having a stronger infusion of the latter than at Lifu. The Bishop seemed to find little difficulty in making himself understood by his new scholars.

Having extricated ourselves with some difficulty from the surrounding crowd, we retired to our boat (in which the chain-cable and other articles had been deposited), accompanied by Naisilini and young Bula, the hereditary chief, a fine boy of thirteen or fourteen, whose curiosity to see the large ship had overcome his manifest fears. Some of the young women, however, had made up their minds that no good was to come to him in our custody, for they followed us in a state of perfect nudity to the boat, which, on account of the falling tide, lay at a short distance from the beach, weeping and wailing most bitterly, and entreating him not to leave them. As night was coming on, we were obliged to restrict their visit to an hour or two, when they were again landed in the cove by one of our boats. Attempts were made by the crowd, who assembled to receive their chiefs, to steal some of our men's jackets, which, with such an excitable people, might have ripened into a disturbance, but for a proper degree of forbearance on the part of the officer and boat's crew, to whom it was evident that the chief had but little authority over his tribe.

The Undine having hauled out of the little cove where she lay, and in which, it is said, the John Williams, a vessel of 300 tons, once anchored, made sail to the southward; and, after hoisting up our boat, we followed her, steering S. by E. for the Isle of Pines.

The intercourse between our traders and the people of Mare, continued for the sake of the sandalwood which still abounds in the island, has, from the constant disputes, attended with bloodshed on both sides, had a very unfavourable effect upon their character. Under other cir-

cumstances, their eagerness for barter, which seemed to us greater than among any other islanders, would probably have been the means of hastening their civilization. Reece described them as fond of traffic with people of their own race, and as carrying on a trade with Lifu for birds' bones, for the purpose of decorating their houses (as in Vate), the commodity exported in exchange being a kind of worsted thread, called by them "drilla," made from the fur of the pteropus, or flying fox.

The discovery of sandalwood drew attention to the island about 1841, and towards the end of that year their first affray with Europeans took place. The Rev. Mr. Turner, who called here in 1845 to visit the Samoan missionary teachers placed in Mare a few years before, states, with respect to this affair:—

"While in this group we made special inquiry into the late massacres to which we have alluded. The first was a boat's crew which was cut off at Mare, towards the end of 1841. This party was six in number, and, we suppose, belonged to the Martha, of Sydney. Their vessel went to the north-east side of the island, in search of sandalwood. They pulled in to a village called Seruimet, where there is a chief named Uianet. They landed, looked about, and returned to the boat, and, as they were about to push off, the chief begged permission to go and see their vessel. This they refused. He continued to urge his request, and, as the men commenced to pull, one of the oars accidentally struck his head. The beach was crowded with natives, who, on seeing their chief wounded, at once supposed that it had been done intentionally, rushed forward, killed the whole party, and broke the boat to pieces."[1]

Stimulated probably by their success in the affair of the Martha's boat's crew, and urged, it was supposed, by the misconduct of some of the English seamen towards the women, their next attempt was to capture the Brigand, before alluded to. That the anger of the natives was excited against particular individuals in this case, appeared from the fact of several of the crew who were on shore having been conducted on board in safety by Naisilini and

[1] Samoan Reporter for September, 1845.

another chief; but although the attempt to seize the vessel failed, not fewer than seventeen men were killed on the occasion. Mr. Paddon, the enterprising owner and captain of the Brigand, behaved with great prudence and moderation, as, in an affidavit made by him before the superintendent of Norfolk Island, after the disaster, he stated that, as soon as he had cleared the ship of the assailants, "he endeavoured to stop the firing for the sake of the people on shore, and thus not more than six musket-shots, and no long gun, were fired after them;" and he added, that "he did not think the trade would be permanently injured by this unhappy event; on the contrary, it might be improved."

About the same period (the end of 1843), the sanguinary attack on the Sisters was unhappily successful; and even since that time it is understood that, on other occasions, lives of white men have been lost, although instances are not wanting of chiefs having treated with kindness and generosity those, who by shipwreck or other accidents, fell into their hands. It must not be supposed that the natives have not suffered in these conflicts in at least an equal degree with the strangers; indeed, it seems now to be considered that, unless the trade shall be regulated by higher authority, it is to be carried on on the principle of the right of the stronger party, by the white men.

An event took place a few weeks only after the completion of the Havannah's first cruise, which will show the spirit of the Sydney traders on this subject. Mr. Lewis, the superintendent of Mr. Towns's establishment on the Isle of Pines, being then occupied on the coast of Mare in collecting sandalwood in a small cutter (the Will-of-the-Wisp), was informed by some of the chiefs of Keama, that the people of a district to the southward, which Mr. Lewis termed Massacre Bay, but the proper native name of which is Nonteku-ruba, (and where, at the time, an Englishman named Foxall was residing, as the trade-

master for a rival house,) had formed a plan to capture his vessel.[1] Determined, as he says, to "see if they intended it," and thinking that "he had hands enough to cope with them," Mr. Lewis, first arming himself and the three men composing his crew with muskets, proceeded to the spot. Three of the natives having swum off to the vessel, armed as usual with clubs, and their faces blackened (no uncommon decoration), were supposed to have come with a hostile intention, and were immediately shot, the vessel afterwards quietly retiring from the coast. These facts having been communicated to Lieutenant Pollard, commanding her Majesty's schooner Bramble, tender to the Havannah, by the people of Keama (among whom was Siapo, one of the Bishop of New Zealand's scholars, who, in prosecution of his lordship's plan, had been sent back to his own country), Mr. Lewis was called upon by that officer for an explanation, which amounted to what has been already stated.[1] After some ineffectual efforts at Sydney to procure a bench warrant for the apprehension of Mr. Lewis for this alleged murder, Mr. Pollard, by the directions of his commanding officer, lodged an information before a police magistrate, on whose warrant Mr. Lewis was arrested on an accidental visit to Sydney some months afterwards; and having been finally brought to trial on the 7th of July, 1851, was, in spite of a strong charge by the Chief Justice of New South Wales, acquitted by the jury.

The slaughter of these three men, however, was not without its fruits; for, within a month after the trial of Mr. Lewis, his employer, who had sent him back to his station, received information, which has since been confirmed, of the capture by the people of Mare, of his cutter the Lucy Anne, and the murder of the whole of her crew.

It should be remarked, that the name of Massacre Bay was applied by Mr. Lewis to the spot where the above

[1] See Appendix C., where all the papers connected with this affair are published.

occurrence took place, on the erroneous supposition that it was also the scene of the massacre of the Brigand's crew and the capture of the Sisters, acts which were perpetrated in 1843 by the people of a tribe now converted to Christainity.

An opinion (of which, probably, the first, and certainly the most distinguished advocate was the unfortunate M. de la Perouse),[1] that a system of coercion and retaliation is the most proper to be employed towards savage people, is very generally entertained by Europeans in these seas. That such a mode of treatment is not always attended with success, the result of the punishment inflicted by Mr. Lewis on the savages of Mare will show pretty clearly. That produced by an opposite line of conduct, in which the virtues which we peculiarly claim for Christians are exhibited to the barbarians, may be exemplified by the reception given to the Bishop of New Zealand, a few months after the former event, by the people of the adjacent tribe, the planners and executors, be it remembered, of the attacks on the Brigand and Sisters scarcely seven years before.

On that prelate's revisiting Mare in June, 1850, not, as on the previous occasion, under the protection of a ship-of-war, but in his own little vessel with his crew of four unarmed men, he landed at the north point, where the Havannah first communicated with the missionary teachers, and was conducted by the greater part of the population to Keama, a distance exceeding half the length of the island, in a kind of triumphal procession.

So strange a confusion has been made in a lately pub-

[1] "Nous réprimions par la force les plus petits vols et les plus petites injustices; nous leur montrions, par l'effet de nos armes, que la fuite ne les sauverait pas de notre ressentiment; nous leur refusions la permission de monter à bord, et nous menacions de punir de mort ceux qui oseraient y venir malgré nous. Cette conduite était cent fois préférable à notre modération passée; et si nous avions quelque regret à former, c'est d'être arrivés chez ces peuples avec des principes de douceur et de patience," &c., &c.—Voyage de la Perouse autour du Monde, vol. ii., p. 161.

lished Directory[1] and Chart of the Pacific Ocean as to the position and names of the islands composing this group, that, before quitting them, it will be necessary to make a few remarks on the subject.

The Loyalty group—unlike the nearly parallel chain of the New Hebrides, which are mountainous, and contain many active volcanoes—consists of a line of low coral islands, of which the uninhabited rock of Walpole Island may be geologically considered the south-eastern extremity, and Beaupré's Island the north-western; a line of reefs, at intervals, stretching further to the N.W., as if the elevating process, of which the different steps are particularly evident at Lifu, had been but partially completed in that direction.

The exact period of their discovery, which did not take place until the beginning of this century, is uncertain; but it is well known, that previous to 1827, an uncertain group, of which the south-easternmost[2] island was called Britannia island, from the name of the ship which was supposed to have made the discovery, appeared on an English chart, by Arrowsmith.

On the 15th June, 1827, M. Dumont d'Urville, on his passage from Aneiteum to Carteret Harbour in New Britain, got sight of the island now called by the natives Mare (or, perhaps more properly, Nengone), to which (respecting the right of the first discoverer) he left the name of Isle Britannia,[3]—a title which has since occasionally been applied to the whole group.

The identity of D'Urville's Isle Britannia with Mare, is clearly established by the places assigned to the northern capes, which he named Caps Coster, Roussin, and Mackau;

[1] A Directory for the Navigation of the Pacific Ocean, &c., &c., by Alexander G. Findlay: Laurie, London, 1851. Chart of the Indian and Pacific Oceans, by Richard H. Laurie, January, 1851.

[2] That is, omitting Walpole Island, which was discovered in 1800, but has not hitherto been considered as one of the group.

[3] Voyage autour du Monde, vol. iv., chap. xxvi., p. 464

and the relative position with respect to the latter of the small islands Molard, Hamelin, Lainé, Vauvilliers, and Boücher (Tika). Proceeding to the N.W., the larger island of Lifu was seen a few hours afterwards, and named by M. d'Urville, Chabrol, in honour of the minister who had projected the expedition. After passing close to a dangerous reef, which lies off the N.W. point of Lifu, the island now known as Uea, or Mondavi, was discovered, and named Isle Halgan, on the 17th of June; and after an examination of its northern coasts, the chain of the Loyalty islands was completed on the 19th, by the sight of Isle Beaupré, the discovery of which had been made by M. d'Entrecasteaux in 1792.

A late writer, whose work on the islands of the Western Pacific has acquired some importance, from its having been published with the approval of the Hydrographical Office, but who seems to be unaware that any exploration of the northern coasts of the Loyalty Islands was made by M. d'Urville, has mistakingly applied the name of the *Britannia islands* to Uea and its surrounding islets *only*, confining the name of the Loyalty Islands to Lifu and three smaller islands (the discovery of which he attributes to Captain Cook, who never saw them) and Mare, which he as erroneously states was discovered in 1841 by the sandalwood traders.[2]

The compiler of the chart of the Indian and Pacific oceans before alluded to, who appears to have had access to Mr. Cheyne's manuscript before its publication, has however properly restored the name of Britannia to the south-easternmost of the three large islands, but has unaccountably placed one, which he terms "Mari 1841," further to the eastward; and a second, on the authority apparently of an article in 'The Times' of September,

[1] Voyage autour du Monde, vol. iv., chap. xxiv., p. 265.

[2] A Description of Islands in the Western Pacific Ocean, by Andrew Cheyne, London, 1852.

1842 (Burrow's Island) to the southward of the latter, neither of which has any existence.[1]

This confusion is still further increased in the Directory, where, notwithstanding the proper application of the name Britannia to the south-easternmost island (the real Mare, or Nengone), it is associated not only with the name of Uea (D'Urville's Halgan), which Mr. Cheyne improperly called Britannia, but with its description;[2] whilst for the latter, a name taken from the 'Annales Hydrographiques,'[3] apparently intended for the same under a different orthography, O*u*ea, but mis-spelt O*n*ea, or Hīvĕ, is substituted.

The fact of the opposite extremities of the islands of this group (the largest of which is less than forty miles in length) having been lately peopled by different races, has been mentioned as accounting for the diversity of names, given by the people themselves to their own islands. There seems no reason to doubt the truth of the tradition respecting the Polynesian name of Uea; Lifu would almost suggest that of Lifuka, known to both the Tongan and Feejeean archipelagoes; but Mare, which has (at least among strangers) almost supplanted the native appellation of Nengone, has no connexion with any group with which we are acquainted, if we except the Murray Islands on the eastern side of Torres Strait. The native name of the largest of these islands is Maer, and the people seem to belong to a similar race to the New Caledonians.[4]

20th September.—The Isle of Pines was in sight at day-

[1] Lieut. Pollard of the "Bramble," in his passage from Aneiteum to Mare, in 1850, approached that island from the eastward, rounding its southern extremity, without seeing any appearance of land in that direction. Nothing of the kind has ever been reported by the Missionary barque, the John Williams, which has traversed that part of the ocean several times, although it is understood that a dangerous shoal, "Durand's breakers," does exist between Mare and Walpole island.

[2] A Directory for the Navigation of the Pacific Ocean, by Alexander G. Findlay, London, 1851.

[3] Annales Hydrographiques, 1849, p. 160.

[4] For some remarkable points of resemblance betwixt the people of Maer and the New Caledonians, and Loyalty Islanders, such as their dome shaped huts, frizzled hair, twisted into pipe-like ringlets, &c., &c.—see 'Narrative of

light, its central volcanic-looking peak rising from a low shore, covered at intervals with large patches of the pines, from which Captain Cook, its discoverer, named it on the 27th September, 1774.

As we ran down the eastern coast at the distance of two or three miles, a reef, with two small islands on it, was seen on the weather-bow, and we had to haul our wind and make aboard to weather it. These islets, although not marked on the only sketch of the island in our possession, are placed in Krusenstern's Atlas, corrected to 1825; and we were informed afterwards that a good passage, even for large ships, is found between them and the S.E. end of the Isle of Pines.

After rounding the extreme point, we kept away, running by the eye along the edge of the southern reef, hauling in for the land as we approached a green island covered with pines, where a white man, a Swede, attached to an English sandalwood establishment, boarded us, and piloted the ship to an anchorage. As we approached the island in question (which, as it forms the eastern side of the entrance, may be termed Entrance Island), the water shoaled to nine and ten fathoms, the bottom of sand and coral patches distinctly visible; and we hauled up, leaving several islets and reefs on the port hand, and anchored four or five miles off the main land, in a tolerably sheltered position, in twelve fathoms; the S.W. end of Entrance Island bearing S. 28° E., a small sandy islet on the reef S. 76° W., and the peak of the Isle of Pines, N. 10° E.; the high land of New Caledonia was in sight to the N.W., but the sea between was covered with small islands and reefs.

An English schooner, which had been seen a-head in the morning, preceded us into the harbour; but instead of anchoring in our offshore berth (which may be called the

the Surveying Voyage of H.M.S. Fly, by J. Beete Jukes,' London, 1847, vol. i., pp. 132, 133. Mr. Jukes also "believes that to New Ireland or New Caledonia we must look for the paternal seats of the Torres Strait Islanders," vol. i., p. 188.

outer roads) she continued to work up for a cove close under the Isle of Pines, the passage to which, however, seems too narrow and intricate, even should there be sufficient depth of water, for any but a small vessel to attempt without previous examination. The Undine passed under our stern shortly afterwards, when I took the opportunity of joining the Bishop, and proceeding in his little vessel to the inner anchorage, on the shores surrounding which are two sandalwood establishments, employing a considerable number of white men; one belonging to Mr. Paddon, whose head-quarters I have before mentioned at Aneiteum; and the other to Mr. Towns, of Sydney. The only vessels here at the time were the small cutter, the Will-o'-the-Wisp, belonging to the latter gentleman, and the schooner, the Marian of Sydney, which had just arrived, and, by a singular coincidence, brought from Tahiti—where she had been chartered for the purpose—the French Roman Catholic Bishop of Amata (*in partibus*), Monsignor Douarre, and fourteen priests, on their way to Yengen to re-establish the New Caledonian mission. The crew of the vessel were already occupied in landing some stores for the mission, these gentlemen having themselves proceeded to a handsome wooden house built by some of their members, who, after returning from New Caledonia, had remained at this spot as a nucleus for future operations, and had been joined by others of the society from Aneiteum.

The Bishop of New Zealand, who had, during his first visit to this island in 1847, made the acquaintance of a respectable old chief, Uăsŭmā, residing on the north side in the district of Kraji, about eight miles from this spot, set off with a single native guide to walk thither, intending to pass the night in the old chief's house and return on the following day. As my business lay more among the sandalwood people, I did not accompany him, but arranged to walk out in the morning to meet him.

The Bishop's New Caledonian and Loyalty Island boys seemed quite contented on board of the schooner: they had been very sea-sick, as all these islanders are at first in any vessel larger than a canoe; but they exhibited no home-sickness or apprehension for the future.

I had a long conversation, after the bishop's departure, with a Mr. Rodd, superintendent of Mr. Paddon's establishment; that of Mr. Towns being managed by Captain Lewis, now absent in one of the vessels. The principal topic was, of course, the state of the sandalwood trade, and the history of the many affrays which had occurred between the natives and the crews of the vessels, in one of which he had himself lost an eye and a hand, and narrowly escaped with his life.

Rodd's first acquaintance with these islands began in 1840, when he served as a lad on board of the brig Camden, in the employment of the London Mission Society. During their stay in that year on the Isle of Pines, where they had landed the first missionary teachers from Samoa, a seaman belonging to the vessel, who knew the value of sandalwood in a commercial point of view, detected, among some fire-wood brought on board for ship's use, a billet or two of this precious commodity. Concealing the fact from his shipmates, on his arrival in Sydney he exhibited his specimens to some merchants of that city, who, buying his secrecy, despatched two vessels to the Isle of Pines under a Captain White, who was said to have made a most profitable voyage to China.

The re-discovery of this article of commerce, the price of which, from the failure of the supply from the Feejees and other causes, had risen to a great height in the Chinese market, having been made known, vessels flocked to the island from various directions, and the consequences to be expected from the meeting of a set of reckless and undisciplined men, hastily collected as their crews, with some of the most barbarous and courageous islanders of the Western Pacific, followed of course. Quarrels, stimulated

in many cases by the masters of the vessels, who, having secured the friendship of some influential chief, were not desirous of sharing it with their rivals, soon took place between the new comers and the natives, who having at last become aware of their own strength, and learned to despise the want of concert and the degraded habits of the white men, began to avenge their real or imaginary injuries after their own savage and summary fashion.

In October, 1842, the brig Star, of Tahiti, Ebrill, master, was seized at the anchorage where the Havannah lay, by about thirty men, and the whole of the crew, including some missionary teachers from Samoa, who happened to be on board, put to death and eaten. The sandalwood traders represent this act as they do all outrages committed by the natives, as one of unprovoked treachery and cruelty; but the following account, obtained by the missionaries on one of their voyages of inspection, assigns a more reasonable cause for the hostility of these people, in the fact that they had been previously fired on by the master of the vessel when on a friendly errand:—

"*Massacre of the Captain and Crew of the brig Star, at the Isle of Pines.*—We had Samoan teachers labouring there: as they were superstitiously regarded as the cause of epidemics which occasionally prevailed, their lives were in danger. Matuku, the king, at length told them to leave the island. Captain Ebrill, of the Star, was there at the time, and they arranged with him to take them to Samoa. Captain Ebrill then sailed for Sydney, and returned again to the Isle of Pines, on his way to Samoa with the teachers, on the 31st of October, 1842. He anchored at Uao, a place about twelve miles distant from the residence of Matuku. The natives went off to the vessel, and the first inquiries were after Matuku and his sons. The natives deceitfully replied, 'They are dead.' 'O, that is good,' said a person on board of the name of William Henry, 'that is good, let such chiefs be dead.' From some cause which we cannot ascertain, Captain Ebrill and his crew were then angry at Matuku; and as a further proof of it, when the latter sent a present of food to the teachers, it was not allowed to be received on board; those who took it had things thrown at them, and two musket shots fired at them. None were killed, only one man was wounded in the knee. All this soon reached the ears of Matuku.

'What can they mean,' said he, 'wishing me and my sons dead in my own land? and why commit such outrages upon my people who went with a present?' Whatever intentions he might have previously had to take a vessel, any one, who knows the old despot, can conceive how such treatment would make his savage heart flame with revenge. Next morning thirty of his own select men were off with intent to kill all on board. They took a quantity of sandalwood with them to sell; and that they might not be suspected, did not arm themselves with clubs or axes, but with the adzes which they use in dressing the wood. They reached the vessel. The sandalwood pleased all on board, was immediately bought, and the natives allowed to go up on deck to grind their adzes, on pretence that they were going off after more wood. One of the crew was turning the handle of the grindstone, a native grinding an adze, and the captain close by him. Waiting for a favourable moment, the native swung his adze and hit the captain on the face, between the eyes. This was instant death to Captain Ebrill and the signal for attack all over the vessel. In a few minutes seventeen of the crew were killed, viz., ten white men, including the captain, two Marquesans, two Mangaians, one Aitutakian, one New Zealander, and one Rarotongan teacher. This was on the 1st of November. William Henry, two Samoan teachers, and a native of the New Hebrides, got below, and were there all night. Next morning they were promised their lives if they would go on deck, get up the anchor, and take the vessel farther in towards the beach. They did so, and were then led on shore, where they were immediately killed. Some of the bodies were cooked, but not all. The vessel was then stripped of sails and rigging; everything was taken out of the cabins, and then they set fire to her. The hold was untouched."[1]

Only a few months after this tragical event, another vessel, the Catherine of Sydney, was attacked in the same manner, but in this instance happily unsuccessfully. The white men did not, however, escape without loss, several having been killed and wounded, and the vessel herself was nearly blown up by the accidental explosion of some cartridges on board, and was with difficulty carried into Port Jackson.

Notwithstanding these disasters, the agents of the two merchants, Mr. Towns and Mr. Paddon, succeeded a year or two afterwards in establishing themselves in safety on

[1] Samoan Reporter for September, 1845.

the island, and securing, by the exercise of common fairness and humanity, the friendship of all the chiefs and people, who still continue to supply them with sandalwood, receiving in return large quantities of blankets and cotton cloth, the latter being apparently considered a species of currency. Some of the chiefs are said to possess chests-full of these articles, all of which, however, would be burned at their deaths, and Rodd declared his belief that young Matuku, the chief of the district, successor to the old man of that name, but generally known to the white men as Jimmy, was "*worth* several thousand fathoms of cloth."

A peaceable state of affairs having been established on the Isle of Pines, the scene of these murderous affrays was transferred to the coast of New Caledonia, where, at a district called Numea, two boats' crews of the schooner Vanguard, (which vessel we had met at Vate,) numbering in all eight men, including the master, were killed on the beach in an affray in October, 1847. The chief of the district, named Angulla, was supposed to have plotted the seizure of the vessel at the same time, but those on board being made aware of the occurrence by some canoes from the shore, got the vessel under way, and placed her in safety. Three months later Rodd himself, whilst mate of the Avon schooner, and in charge of one of her boats, was attacked on the beach by people of the same tribe, and although rescued by his crew, sustained injuries which, as I mentioned before, resulted in the loss of a hand and an eye. No reasons were alleged for the determined hostility of this tribe, either by Rodd himself, or Stephens, who had been one of the Vanguard's crew; but I afterwards understood that the chief, who had bargained for the supply of one cargo of sandalwood, was led to believe that part of it had been removed in other vessels, and that he was to be required to make up the deficiency before receiving payment.

Rodd having informed me that a native boy, now at the Isle of Pines, had been on board of the Vanguard at the time of the massacre, and might serve as an interpreter, as he spoke English tolerably, I engaged him to bring the lad to me on the following day, as well as any one of the islanders who might be useful as a guide to the spot, which was represented as situated on the western coast, at the distance of about thirty miles from its southern extremity, Cape Prince of Wales.

Many of the stories I had previously heard of the conduct of some of our sandalwood traders towards the islanders, were repeated by Rodd, without any reference having been made to them by me, which gives hopes that public opinion may soon be brought to bear against such atrocities. The firing indiscriminately at people along the shore of Eromango was known to have been perpetrated by a scoundrel, who wished to spoil the market for his rival, and the equally abominable murder, by another hand, of a friendly chief who was swimming on shore from the vessel, was recounted with but little variation of the facts.

An Englishman, named White, in whose fate, by the clubs of the Tanese, we had lately been called upon to sympathise, had resided for a long time in the Isle of Pines. Of a tyrannical and vindictive disposition, he was the terror of the natives, and had frequently been known to watch for days in the bush, for an opportunity of shooting one with whom he had had a difference.

21*st September*.—I landed in the morning, in company with one or two of the officers, at the station of Mr. Towns, where a few white men were residing, and where a considerable quantity of sandalwood collected by them (the operation of barking and removing the outer sap being generally performed by natives) was stacked, ready for shipment. The only vessel lying here, belonging to the trade, was the small cutter Will-o'-the-Wisp, and Mr.

Lewis, the superintendent, was absent on a trading voyage. The sandalwood in this island is by no means exhausted, but most of that near the coast has been disposed of, and the natives being now pretty well stocked with the few articles of European manufacture which they value, viz., muskets, axes, and cotton cloth, are not easily induced to bring it to market.

I proceeded to pay my respects to the French bishop, whom I found seated near the beach, under the shade of a tree, and who insisted on accompanying me to the mission-house, a handsome two-storied wooden structure, which had, during the last year and a half, been erected by the actual labour of the members of the mission, the material being chiefly the timber of the tall pine. The bishop presented me to his vicar, an agreeable man, who had resided for some years in the Samoan Islands, and three or four priests and lay brethren, and insisted on my partaking of some refreshment. The house had been hastily and simply fitted up for his reception, but he was not to avail himself long of its comparative comfort, being desirous of sailing as soon as possible for Yengen, in New Caledonia, to re-establish the mission which had formerly been settled at Balad and Pūepō, or Puesĕpō. Since their expulsion from those districts, and temporary abandonment of New Caledonia, the bishop had visited France, whence he was now returning by way of Tahiti, with renewed hopes of success. Yengen had been selected as a centre for future operations, not merely because a spot of land had been previously bought there by the mission, but from the circumstance of a younger brother of the chief Basset, who, having been wrecked some months before in an English vessel, on his return from Sydney to his own country, had resided since then in the mission-house, being willing to accompany them and lend his influence in their favour.

The bishop had formed a very low estimate of the

character of the New Caledonians, and it did not appear to me that the mission was embarking in the business in a spirit likely to ensure their success. The natives of Balad, where the mission was settled for four years, had never become generally friendly, and the death of a lay-brother, who was killed in defence of the stores placed under his charge, determined the bishop at last to retreat upon Puesepo, and ultimately to quit the island. When, however, the Brillante corvette arrived at Puesepo to remove the mission, the natives, who had become desirous of their stay, objected strongly to their departure. Their bravery was shown by their attacking, without fire-arms, eighty armed men of the corvette's crew, who were landed to conduct the embarkation, on which occasion the captain of the Brillante deserves the highest praise for his forbearance, for, although five of his people were wounded, only one of the natives was killed, all unnecessary firing having been rigorously prohibited. I was happy to hear from the bishop that he and his companions had often received valuable attention and assistance from captains of English merchant vessels both here and at Aneiteum, and it was pleasing to know that the mission had been enabled in New Caledonia to offer an asylum to distressed countrymen of ours on more than one occasion.[1]

After taking my leave of these gentlemen, we continued our walk through the island, under the guidance of Mr. Rodd, hoping to meet the Bishop of New Zealand on his return from the north side. We met but few of the natives on our road, and those we saw seemed to resemble exactly the New Caledonians, and were generally armed with tomahawks, but friendly and polite to our party. They wore only the wrapper, and occasionally a turban or cap of white calico, two other kinds of head dresses being in use,

[1] The mission did not remain long at Yengen, but from apprehensions of being plundered and attacked by the natives, again abandoned New Caledonia, after a few months' residence.

viz., the long projecting one of New Caledonia, and a frizzing out of the hair to an extent almost equal to the Feejeean mop. As among the Loyalty islanders, all had the lobes of their ears pierced, and garters made of white shells were their only ornaments. The appearance of the country, though not picturesque, was very pleasing, the soil being apparently volcanic, and the general vegetation coarse grass and fern, as in the neighbourhood of the Bay of Islands in New Zealand. Here and there we came upon patches of a fertile soil with good looking crops of maize, taro, yams, and banana-trees, the latter of which are said seldom to ripen, as the people dig up and eat the roots. Towards the sea, patches of pine trees were seen at intervals, and in the hollows, woods of some extent, in which Rodd informed us about thirty or forty head of cattle, the progenitors of which had been brought from New South Wales, were running wild, as well as a quantity of domestic poultry. Not meeting the Bishop at the appointed time, we turned back towards Matuku's village, which we reached through a succession of beautiful green lanes, and stopped at what was called a "tabu" belonging to the chief, being merely an enclosure of two or three dirty-looking huts, with about a dozen young women, his wives or concubines. Although tolerably well proportioned, they were the least pleasing specimens of their sex I had seen, being very dirty in their persons, and with their faces painted white, in sign of mourning for a son of the chief next in rank to Matuku, named Paja, who had lately died.

As the same superstition respecting witchcraft exists here as among the New Hebrideans, Paja had determined that some suspected persons were to be put to death on this occasion, and this would have been done, but for the interference of old Uasŭma, the chief on the northern side, a man much in advance of his people, who had acted as a kind of regent for Matuku or Jimmy, during his boyhood.

This young chief, whose disposition is said not to be the

best, had, from some apprehension of our enmity, with which the white men it appeared had threatened him, göt out of the way, and was not to be found, but we visited old Paja in his house on the beach, whom we found in very low spirits for the loss of his son, and apparently frightened at our presence. I invited him, however, to visit me on board the next morning, which he promised to do.

We embarked at Mr. Towns' sandalwood station, where Rodd resides, and had not been long on board, when the Bishop of New Zealand arrived with old Uasŭma, who had walked back with him from Kraji, where Mr. Towns has another station, and Basset's brother, who now talked of a desire to visit New Zealand.

Uasŭma, a quiet, but dull-looking man, dressed in a shirt, had given the Bishop a very hospitable reception the evening before; a comfortable bed, with clean blankets, &c., being made up for him on a chest. The tribe was at peace with New Caledonia, the opposite districts of which, however, it was said, they had formerly been enabled by means of fire-arms, bought from the white men, almost to depopulate.

The Bishop witnessed in the morning the sailing of a large canoe for Mivai, on the opposite coast, and was struck with a simple ceremony performed by the assembled crowd on her departure; the whole of them simultaneously seating themselves as she left the beach, and remaining silent for a minute or two, as if mentally repeating a prayer for the success of the voyage.

The Bishop and chiefs dined with me, and passed the night on board.

22*nd September.*—At 8 o'clock, the French bishop and his vicar having borrowed a boat from the shore, came on board to return my visit, a mark of politeness which, considering our distance from the beach, I had not anticipated, and indeed had begged might be dispensed with.

The meeting, at this remote isle, of a Protestant and Roman Catholic prelate, rival soldiers in the Christian cause, was indeed a singular event; but, as might be supposed, the conversation between two such men, who could have few religious feelings in common, nor any sincere desire for each other's success, was of no great interest. Bishop Douarre spoke chiefly, as he had the day before to me, of the bad disposition of the New Caledonians, a subject on which he was not likely to meet with much sympathy from Bishop Selwyn, whose efforts have always been directed to the eliciting and cultivating the good points of the savage character, with what success need not now be repeated. The reproach of cannibalism was also strongly insisted upon, a fact of which we now required no proof, and which had been so long familiarly before us, as to have lost much of its horrid interest in our eyes.

Whilst our conversation was going on in the cabin, the Vicar had lit upon young Basset, and when I accompanied the Bishop on deck, he was found seated in the boat, having again changed his mind and determined to return to Yengen.

A salute, which was fired when Bishop Douarre left the ship, added considerably to the alarm of Paja and the young chief Matuku, whom Rodd had found, and was bringing on board. The latter, however, a fine-looking young man, speaking a few words of English, soon recovered from his fright, when he found himself civilly treated, although Mr. Knapp could not persuade him to sit still to allow his portrait to be taken. He brought with him a man, named Yanekari, who was said to know the coast of New Caledonia, particularly the district of Numea, and also to be capable of acting as an interpreter. He was a tall stout man, with a bushy head of hair, and a disagreeable expression of countenance, owing to the loss of an eye; but he turned out to be a very obliging, civil fellow, although his qualifications, both as a pilot

Yanekari, a Native of the Isle of Pines.

and interpreter, had been much overrated. He was evidently not at all disposed to the trip, which he expected to be a warlike expedition, and had only come by the express command of the chief. The native boy, mentioned before as having belonged to the Vanguard, hearing we were inquiring for him, had hid himself and was not to be found.

Paja and Matuku were now dismissed with a few trifling presents, and we prepared for our departure, having first felled and brought on board two or three of the pine trees from the small island at the entrance of the harbour. These trees are here called "ūrū," and differed in no way from those we had cut at Lifu, excepting that being less sheltered, they were seldom found sufficiently straight for spars.

The crews of the two vessels in the inner harbour were mustered, and their articles and registers inspected by one of the Havannah's lieutenants; Griffiths, the man who had

begged a passage from New Caledonia, finding an engagement in the Marian as a steward. If this duty could be regularly performed by a ship of war, the sandalwood trade, which, as at present carried on, is little creditable to the British flag and character, and ruinous to the morals of the islanders, would soon assume a different aspect.[1]

It is to be regretted, that the attempts to christianize the people of this island were not renewed by the London Mission, who first occupied the ground. At present they seem to have no religion but a belief in witchcraft. They are said to practise circumcision, which the Loyalty islanders do not, and, it is almost needless to add, have the same addiction to cannibalism which distinguishes all the Melanesian races. They are certainly not behind any in intelligence, and are ready to embark in English vessels, where they not only quickly acquire the language, but are said to make excellent seamen. One lad served for more than a year in the Bramble, and was considered by Lieut. Pollard to be quite as efficient as any other of his crew.

It is remarkable that the English name for the island, Isle of Pines, or Isle o' Pine, has been generally adopted by the people, although their own native appellation "Hunia" is occasionally made use of.

Their cardinal numbers add another set to those already acquired.

One	Ta	Six	No-ta
Two	Bo	Seven	No-bo
Three	Beti	Eight	No-beti
Four	Bĕū	Nine	No-beu
Five	Ta-hue	Ten	De-kau

As our destination was now the south-west coast of New Caledonia, it became a question for consideration whether, after leaving our present anchorage, we should endeavour to find a passage through the reefs and islets directly to the N.W.; which most of the English here considered

[1] See Appendix D.

practicable, though not advisable; or whether, rounding the south point of the great barrier reef of New Caledonia in lat. 23·0° S., we should coast along it until a passage were hit upon, abreast of the district to which we were bound. In favour of the first plan, which would much diminish the distance, we had the knowledge that Captain Cook had, from the southward of the Isle of Pines, reached an island near Cape Coronation, to which he gave the name of Botany island;[1] and also, that a year or two before, Mr. Woodin, master of a barque, the Spy of Hobart Town, coming from the northward of Cape Coronation, had discovered a ship channel, cutting off what had been considered the south-western extremity of New Caledonia, and proving Cook's Prince of Wales's Foreland to be part of a separate island. The space, therefore, between Botany island and the main, a distance of only five or six miles, was all that was left unexplored.

On the other hand, it was possible that we might find the passage barred by reefs, which would necessitate our working our way back to the southward, a process at this season, when strong S.E. winds were said to prevail, likely to occasion a considerable loss of time.

I was further induced to take the longer route, from the fact of a light northerly wind blowing at the time, which would enable us to round the south point of the reef in a few hours.

The Bishop of New Zealand, having now completed the number of his scholars (as many indeed as his vessel could conveniently accommodate), was also anxious to profit by this favourable wind to make good his return to Auckland;

[1] The name of Botany Islands has been, from some mistake, applied on the French Chart to two sandy islets on the southern reef. That this is erroneous is plain, not only from the fact of these islets having no pines growing on them, as Cook's had, nor offering any field for botanists, but also from Captain Cook's bearings when at anchor, viz.—Hill on the Isle of Pines, S. 59·30 E.; low part of Queen Charlotte's Foreland, N. 14·30 W.; Prince of Wales's Foreland, W. ½ S., six or seven leagues.—Cook's Second Voyage, chap. x.

and much as I regretted that I was no longer to have the pleasure of his society, and the great advantage of his assistance, both in conciliating the regard of the natives, with whom we might have to open communications, and in leading us through what we might expect to find a difficult navigation, I could not but agree in the prudence of his determination.

At 5 P.M. we weighed accordingly, and ran out of the roads, admiring, as we passed and waved our adieus to the 'Undine,' the commanding figure of the truly gallant Bishop of New Zealand, as, steering his own little vessel, he stood surrounded by the black heads of his disciples.

Carrying out soundings in 12 and 14 fathoms we cleared the reefs on our starboard hand, and having steered S.S.W. for about 15 miles further, rounded to for the night, our latitude by meridian altitudes of different stars being then 23·0° S., as nearly as possible that of the southern point of the Great Reef.

23*rd September*.—The reef not being in sight at daylight, we filled and stood in for it, and at 8 A.M. saw it ahead, its southern extreme bearing N.W., and the Peak of the Isle of Pines N.E. ½ N.

At 9, when about ¾ of a mile off the south extreme, the appearance of a shoal patch induced me to round to and sound, but no bottom was found with 150 fathoms, and giving the point a berth, we resumed our course to the westward. At noon we were in latitude 22° 59′, the south extreme of the reef bearing E. by S., and a wreck, which we knew to be that of a brig (the Scamander of Sydney), lost a few months previously, four or five miles on its north-western side, N. ½ W. Several small islands, alluded to before as being erroneously called in some charts the Botany islands, were seen inside of the reef, but no appearance of an opening could be distinguished.

At 4 P.M. the high land of New Caledonia was seen through the haze, and the wind being light and baffling

from N. by W. to W.S.W., we soon afterwards hauled off for the night.

24*th September*.—On standing in in the morning, the two sandy islands were perceived bearing N.N.E. and N., and the wreck E.S.E., and we were again occupied all day in striving to get to the N.W., with light westerly airs, seeing nothing of the land, but keeping the reef in view, and looking out in vain for a break or entrance.

At noon we were in latitude 22° 50′ S., long. 166° 44′ E., the current having set us about seven miles to the southward during the last twenty-four hours, and the wind nearly gone. At night we kept the ship's head to the westward, being eight or nine miles distant from the reef, the surf on which made a great noise, so much so, that I should think it impossible for a ship, with a tolerable look-out, to tumble on it unawares.

25*th September*.—We wore, and stood in again at day-light, with a light N.N.E. wind, the high land of New Caledonia just visible. At noon it bore from N.E. to N.W., and we observed in lat. 22° 41′ S., and long. 166° 28′ E. The barometer, which had hitherto maintained an average of 29·95, was down to 29·87, which gave us hopes of a change.

At 2 P.M. an air sprang up from the S.W., which gradually freshening into a fine breeze, enabled us to close the reef with safety and make out a passage of about a quarter of a mile in width, formed by a low island to the N.W. and the point of the reef to the S.E., through which we steered a N.E. by E. ½ E. course, and found ourselves in the wide interior channel, with 13 and 14 fathoms of water.

This channel seems fuller of coral patches and sand-banks than that on the N.E. side of New Caledonia, but they can in general be seen from aloft. We had to haul to the N.N.W. shortly after entering, to avoid one of these, and at 5.30 P.M., the weather being so thick as

scarcely to permit us to see the high land, although only 8 or 9 miles distant, we anchored for the night a little to the westward of a coral patch nearly level with the water's edge. We lay in 12 fathoms on a sandy bottom, a remarkable quoin-shaped island bearing N.W. by N. about 8 miles, a round island covered with pine trees, some of them twisted into curious shapes, N. 82° E., the low sandy islet on the reef S. 60° W., and a high mount on the main land, which our Isle of Pines guide called Wamēă, or Oūămēă, N. by E.

The passage through which we had entered (apparently one of three breaks or openings in the reef), being abreast of the district of Murāri, received the name of the Murari Passage. From our place at noon we deduced its position to be lat. 22° 36′ N., and long. 166° 32′ E. After anchoring, a quantity of fine fish was caught by our men with hook and line. Three distinct kinds resembled rock cod, snappers, and a fish called, on the North American coast, groupers; one individual of a different species, with a flat head and speckled body, was pronounced poisonous by the pilot, and thrown away.

26*th September*.—The ship was under sail by 8 A.M., the earliest time at which the sun enabled us to see the coral patches, the wind still light from the S.W., and the barometer again standing at 30 inches. We sailed up a clear channel, with soundings varying from thirteen to eighteen fathoms, steering nearly for the Quoin Island, which we found formed the south-eastern entrance to a deepish bay, a round island standing on the western side. At the mouth of this bay we anchored in fourteen fathoms, about a mile and a half off shore, and between three and four from its head. The surrounding district is that called Murari, and, as far as we could understand our pilot, constitutes a part of the larger division of Nūmēă, which comprehends in addition the districts of Mūēmmŏ, Monguērĕ, and Jitĕma. The bay seemed to offer good anchorage, but had a kind of coral bar across the entrance,

on which, however, Mr. Hilliard did not find less than four and a half fathoms. Our berth, although a little more distant from the shore, was perfectly secure.

Lieut. Payne was despatched, as soon as the ship was secured, with the cutter and gig, taking with him Yanekari the pilot, to deliver a message to the chief of the district, requiring his presence on board. As this chief was believed to be the celebrated Angulla, who headed the attack on the Vanguard's boats, the lieutenant was particularly instructed not to promise him a safe conduct, or to give any pledge that he should be allowed to return to the shore. The chief, who was found at a short distance from the beach, made, however, little or no difficulty about obeying my summons, but embarked with a follower, and was brought on board of the ship. Stephens, the Englishman brought from Tana, who, it will be remembered, was one of the Vanguard's crew, was immediately confronted with the chief, but to our surprise declared he was not Angulla, although the latter insisted upon his own identity, and even repeated many circumstances to Stephens proving that he had been on board of the vessel at the time the attack upon the boats began on shore. The chief's attendant also asserted that his master's name was Angulla or Mūirū, and both of them entered into some details, which we could not follow, of the circumstances attending the massacre. They concluded by stating that the two captured whale-boats had been taken away only two moons before by Kuĕndāu, the chief of Monguere, with whom they were or had been at war, and that we should probably find them at his village. As it was evident to me that Stephens had determined, for reasons of his own, not to push the question to extremities with these people, I decided upon doing no more than demanding the restoration of the boats, not wishing that they should be kept as trophies; and on their being given up, dismissing the chief with a warning not to enter

into quarrels with white men in future. I may mention in this place, that I afterwards heard different versions of the attack both on the Vanguard and Avon's boats, which was said to have originated not with Angulla, but a chief known to the English as Jacky. This man was so confident of not being to blame in the business, that he did not hesitate, some months later, to put himself in the power of the white men by visiting the Isle of Pines, where Rodd, much to his credit, conscious that the conduct of his own people had led (at least) to the latter attack, would not suffer him to be molested.

In prosecution of my intention to recover the boats, Lieut. Payne was again despatched to Kuendau's village to request him to visit me, with a promise of being safely landed again. In the mean time Angulla and his attendant were told they were to consider themselves as prisoners, which intimation, although it probably appeared to them a sentence of death, they received without any unmanly emotion. The chief, indeed, behaved with much dignity, after he had first tested the correctness of the information, by attempting to walk into a boat which was preparing to leave the ship, when he was quietly repulsed by the sentry. They were put under no restrictions, and in an hour or two seemed quite resigned to their fate, and even cheerful.

Mr. Payne did not return with the boats till half-past nine o'clock, having rowed up to the head of a deep bight, off the mouth of which lies the island of Nīū, forming an excellent harbour, with seven, eight, and nine fathoms of water, close up to Kuendau's village. The chief himself was not forthcoming, but Mr. Payne was civilly received by one of inferior grade, who informed him that one of the boats was utterly destroyed, and the other had been given to the chief of Jitĕma, a few miles further to the westward, to which place he offered himself as a guide. He came on board accordingly, and on his

arrival had a long consultation with the two prisoners, who seemed to consider that their lives depended on our demands being complied with.

27*th September*.—The weather was still dull and hazy, tantalizing us with imperfect glimpses of the coast, the scenery of which is very beautiful, diversified by downs, hills, valleys, and distant mountains. Towards 8 A.M. the south-east trade wind sprung up, the barometer having risen to 30 15, and we prepared to weigh, sending, in the first place, a boat on shore to land Angulla's attendant, who was now dismissed, and Yanekari, our one-eyed pilot, who was to find his own way back to the Isle of Pines. He was, as usual, thoroughly fitted out by the officers and men with old clothes, pipes and tobacco, and rewarded for his services with a sovereign and a blanket, to his complete satisfaction. We ran down, preceded by the cutter, about 10 miles, to Jitĕma Bay, passing the entrance to apparently a noble harbour, marked by a peculiar pyramidal island standing in the centre, and hauling into the bay, a fine sheet of water, but with shoals running off the points, passed the forenoon in standing off and on, whilst we communicated with the shore.

Lieut. Pollard proceeded with the Monguere chief to the village, and was conducted by a number of the natives to the mouth of a river at the very head of the bay. After pulling up the stream for about a mile, the whale-boat he was in search of was pointed out among the mangroves, but in such a state of decay as to make it impossible to bring her off. Lieut. Pollard described the people as quite friendly, and resembling in appearance those we had seen at Yengen; although the population seems scantier, and the country, except on the borders of the river, unproductive. Two other chiefs, one of Jitema and another of Mūemmŏ, came off in the boat, and after being allowed to see the ship, a general meeting was held, in which my reasons for coming there and our intentions of insisting on a

more orderly system of trading on both sides for the future were explained to them, as far as our very limited powers of communication permitted. The two men from Jitema were then landed on one side of the bay and the Monguere chief and Angulla on the other, not only as nearer to their own homes, but because we understood that the two districts, if not actually at war, were on unfriendly terms with each other. Angulla received the announcement of his freedom with evident joy, but with no want of dignity. Before stepping into the boat which was to convey him on shore, he advanced to bid me farewell, and grasping both my hands, endeavoured to raise them to his head, pronouncing what I took for an oath or solemn engagement to remain on peaceable terms with and to protect the white man.

On the boat's return, we made sail to push for a reef passage before dark, which the second master had discovered on the previous day; but heavy rain came on, and being unable to see our way, we brought up in 15 fathoms between an ugly-looking reef, bearing S.S.W., and a low sandy island S.S.E. The rain continued during the night, with heavy squalls from E.N.E. to E.S.E., the barometer still 30 15.

28*th September*.—The squalls moderated at 8 A.M., and the weather clearing up, we saw the outline of the mountains of New Caledonia for the first time. The prospect was exceedingly beautiful, the hills being thickly wooded in places, and in others covered with apparently luxuriant grass, which would make good pasture for cattle. Up to the foot of the mountains from the coast, low undulating land extends for several miles, the vegetation varied by close woods of dark verdure, and the more thinly scattered gum tree-looking callistemon. Very little cultivation and few cocoa-nut trees were visible, the former, which is probably carried on on the alluvial flats, which the many streams must be in the course of depositing, being concealed by the hills and trees in the foreground.

Sending the cutter ahead, we followed her to the passage,

which lies about 10 miles S. from the easternmost point of Jitema Bay, and is about ¾ of a mile wide, with 14½ fathoms in the centre, but, as is the case all along the reef, no bottom is found the moment the barrier is passed. The direct course through is S.S.W., and the position of this, called by us the Jitema Passage, is lat. 22° 16′ S., long. 166° 14′ 45″ E.

Once more in the open sea, we experienced a feeling of satisfaction, which those who have been navigating among unknown reefs and shoals will readily appreciate, and spreading all canvass to a favourable easterly wind, sped rapidly on our way to Port Jackson, where, after a fine-weather passage, we arrived on the 7th day of October.

In thus concluding the account of the Havannah's first visit to the islands of the Western Pacific, in which we have, happily, no one case of sickness or accident to record, I may be pardoned for alluding to one or two other circumstances, which will allow those who have been engaged in the cruise to look back upon it with satisfaction. That the ship, although necessarily placed on more than one occasion in positions of some little difficulty, has never touched the ground, nor sustained damage of any kind, must be in great measure attributed to the indefatigable zeal of Mr. Hilliard, the master, whose attention to all his various duties, even when required to pass nearly whole days at the mast-head, was unremitting. But the most gratifying circumstance of all, is that of never having had occasion, during a tolerably constant intercourse with savage people of very various dispositions, to make use of or even to exhibit, except for amusement, the superiority of our arms. The fact that no punishment of any individual of our people for misconduct towards the natives was ever required, must be allowed to furnish a proof, not merely of a great improvement in manners, but of the excellent temper and

good conduct of the officers and men whom I had the pride to command.

If we have assisted in impressing the minds of men, generally so observant of character as barbarians, with a respect for order and justice, and in enabling them to distinguish between the infamous class of whites from whom they have in most cases derived their first notions of miscalled civilization, and Europeans of education and conduct, our cruise will not have been without its results.

THE END OF THE FIRST CRUISE.

APPENDIX.

A.

FEEJEEAN ISLANDS.

As any authentic information on the subject of the manners and customs of the extraordinary people inhabiting these islands must be interesting, I append to the account of our short visit, the narrative of an Englishman, John Jackson, who resided among them for a considerable time (nearly two years), and acquired their language.

He subsequently (in 1850) was engaged by Captain Oliver of H. M. S. Fly, to act as his interpreter during a cruise among the New Hebrides, the Loyalty Islands, and New Caledonia, with which island he was also well acquainted. I afterwards employed him in the same capacity in H. M. S. Havannah, where he occupied his leisure hours, at my request, in writing down the following details: and it is but just to say, that extraordinary as many of them appear, there is not one of the savage practices he there describes that I had not been either previously informed of by the missionaries, or of the truth of which I have not since received corroborative testimony.

Jackson, who describes himself as the son of a yeoman in the parish of Ardleigh, in Sussex, and as born on the 11th of November, 1820, commenced his narrative with an account of his parentage and childhood. At the age of sixteen, he says that, "stimulated by the desire of seeing foreign countries and strange manners," and at the same time anxious to rid himself of the restrictions imposed on him at school, he resolved to embrace a seafaring life. He accordingly, in June, 1837, entered on board of a ship in the London Docks, the Joshua Carroll, and sailed in her for Hobart Town, where he arrived in January, 1838. After relating his adventures in different vessels employed in trading between the ports of Australia, he states, that at length he joined a South Sea whaler at Sydney, and visited in her Tahiti, the Kingsmill group, and other islands, which he describes.

Having been kidnapped by the natives of Manua, belonging to the Navigators' or Samoan islands, who were anxious to have a

white man to reside among them, he remained for some months in that group; and I have given his account of his stay there, as not only interesting in itself, but as showing that his delineation of the manners of that people, which are now perfectly well known to Europeans, but who had not at that time embraced Christianity, can be depended on as correct.

After completing his duties on board of the Havannah, he returned to Sydney in her, and was discharged in November, 1850, having promised to finish his account of the Feejees, and to furnish me with that of his residence with the New Caledonians, a race of people resembling the former, and not much inferior to them in interest. I presume, however, that his passion for roving had again seized him, as, on inquiring some months afterwards, I was told he had returned to the islands in a trading vessel; and I have never been able to procure any further information concerning him.

JACKSON'S NARRATIVE.

ABOUT the beginning of 1840 we were cruising between Tutuila and Manua, at which place I was sent on shore in a boat to trade for pigs and vegetables. We landed at the settlement at which Tui Manua resides, called Tau. After the natives had hauled the boat up, they conducted us up to a large house, where we sat down till the pigs could be caught. I got up and began to stroll about outside, when a New Zealander came up to me and told me that the natives wished me to stay there. I told him I would not, and that I was afraid they would kill me if I offered to return to the big house. At the same time two natives caught me up and carried me into a back house on a hill, and then drove the rest of the boat's crew off to the ship. I saw the ship close to all the next day, but no assistance could be given. After the boat's crew were well off from the shore, they brought me down to the beach, stripped me of my clothing, and gave me a large tapa,[1] which they said was lelei,[2] and faa Samoa,[3] and then put me in the fresh water and washed me clean; then led me back to the house and told me to go in first, but I would not, as it was dark, thinking perhaps somebody was inside ready to knock me on the head. They seemed to understand that I was afraid, and went in first themselves. Having rubbed two pieces of stick together till one of them ignited by the friction, they blew it into a blaze, and prepared a lamp with half a cocoa-nut shell, with the thick meat left in it; for the wick they used a small

[1] Garment of native cloth. [2] Good. [3] Samoan fashion.

piece of the cocoa-nut stem with some cotton wound round, and then stuck it into the thick meat at the bottom, and filled it up with oil from a large calabash. I had the rest of the oil emptied on my head and rubbed on my body, and then they combed my hair on end, and laughed and said it was momosi, which I afterwards found out means handsome; but I cursed them and their momosi for pouring so much oil on as nearly to blind me.

The next day all the old men and petty chiefs were assembled at the fale-tele (a large house used for all public occasions) to "inu ava"—drink ava, an intoxicating root. The houses were almost round, supported by one large middle post and seventy or eighty smaller ones, distant from each other about four feet, which likewise answered the purpose of resting against. On each side of the king sat two men, called "fula fela" (speaking men); and in the middle of the house, fronting the king, were placed three large bowls for mixing the ava in, surrounded by fifteen or twenty virgins, who were chewing the root. After it has gone through the regular process, the man that mixes it fills up a large cocoa-nut shell full to another man that holds it, and then he advances towards the king singing out, "Taumafa le alie tele" (this is for the great king), who then takes it from him and drinks it down at once, licking the shell afterwards on the outside so as to make it be said he is "le alie inu tele" (a drinking king); after that his ministers are served, and then the matapulés (gentlemen). And after they have all drunk their share according to rank, baked pork, fowls, taro, &c., is served, of which they all eat pretty heartily, and then take a hearty sleep.

I soon became a favourite of the natives, and especially the king's, and was allowed the second cup of ava, till one day after drinking my allowance, I took up a piece of pork that had been cooked over once or twice, and remarked that it stunk, and threw it from me with disgust. The king told me that was "pua alo" (stinking pig), and so was I. With this I slapped him on his face in my passion. All the natives immediately rushed up with their clubs, and would soon have settled me if the old man had not torn a piece of tapa from his garment and tied it round my neck, which he called "faa saa" (sacred). This piece I had to wear for some considerable time afterwards, for fear of being caught without it and put to death. He frequently asked me to point out the prettiest girl, and then asked me if I would like her for my "avaa" (wife), but at the same time telling me I was too young for a wife. Soon after this, a marriage took place between him and a Fitiuta chief's daughter, who had been promised some time before. There were large fine mats spread out on a green opposite his house; the girl was then led up by her father and mother and placed on the middle of the mats. She had a very large fine mat (which it had probably taken two years to make),

folded in very neat folds, about her loins, and hanging down over her heels trailing on the ground, the two extreme edges barely meeting in front. Round her forehead was a necklace of pearly white beads made of the inside of nautilus shells, and on her wrists and above her elbows were the same. A part of her hair was dyed red, and the rest left its natural colour. The ava was then ready mixed, and as they served out the first cup to his majesty, who was standing erect on the middle of the mat alongside the girl, a man with a piece of white tapa in his hand walked up, keeping step, side by side with the cupbearer. At the moment the king lifted the cup to his lips the man with the tapa performed an office which decency forbids to describe. The marriage was then completed. After this began the feasting on pigs, fowls, turtle, and fish. The old men and chiefs surrounded the king drinking ava, whilst the younger men and girls were dancing.

At this time they seemed to pay little attention to decency, but went from one extreme to another, till both sexes were dancing in a state of nudity. It broke up about 8 o'clock in the morning, when each lad led his partner home.

After I had been on the island about three months, an American ship sent her boats in to trade, when I officiated as interpreter and loaded her boats. I begged a passage, and while I was in the act of stepping into the boat, a man with a bayonet on the end of a pole threatened to run it into me. I still persisted in getting into the boat, when he struck me across the back with the pole and snapped it in two. I directly picked up the part the bayonet was on, and chased him up the beach, but could not catch him. When I turned myself to return to the boat, I found the Yankees had shoved off and left me to the mercy of the natives. The natives tried to console my grief, which was very great, by telling me they did not wish to use such rash means if I would only try and make up my mind to live altogether among them, as I had become related to them in consequence of what they called my long abode. I gave way to melancholy, and lost all appetite, and was disagreeable and morose; hated everybody, and even myself. The natives seemed to be very much concerned for me, and continually asked me if I was recovering from my sickness, which they thought it was, as they had no idea of mental sickness. They used frequently to ask me in what part I felt any pain. This soon wore off, and my natural buoyancy of spirit returned, when they all seemed very glad, and congratulated me on my speedy recovery from such a heavy, and, as they called it, detestable sickness. I made several trips over to Olosenga and Ofu in canoes, which excursions they called "malangas." We were always well received and well fed for a certain number of days; at the expiration of this certain period we were expected to cook for ourselves, but they always provided the raw provisions.

The Tutuila natives very often made these excursions to the weather islands, when they were received and treated in the same manner. I often begged the Manua natives to allow me to accompany the former home, which they never would agree to, but always said it was too far for me to trust myself in a Samoan canoe.

Some time previous to my being taken, two teachers were landed from a missionary vessel; one's name was Anamia, the other Anenia, both Rarotonga natives. They built themselves dwelling-houses and their churches, and for some time had the assistance of the Samoans. They soon mustered a great many converts, and at the consecrating of their churches they killed a most incredible number of hogs. At Fitiuta they killed one thousand and fifty in one day, some families having as many as seventy baked in one oven. After the consecration they made most valuable presents to the teachers, consisting chiefly of fine mats. I was equally well treated both by the Tevolo [1] and Lotu parties, and had generally the greatest share of everything, because they said I was entitled to it according to the rules of Samoan hospitality, as I was one of the most distant strangers that dwelled among them, and came from a country at the back of the sky. My share at this feast was thirty pigs, and vegetables in proportion.

I began to be quite resigned to my fate, and comparatively contented. When I rose in the morning I used to get my breakfast off a nice taro [2] and some cold fish, and sometimes "palusami," which was the tender leaves of the taro, prepared with the rich milk of old cocoa-nuts and salt water. After breakfast I sometimes went out in the paddling canoes catching bonetta, at other times fishing inside the reefs in shoal water, by means of some hundreds of fathoms of bark covered with leaves and boughs, and then carried into the water and spread so as to form a fence, enclosing the fish in the middle of the circle; then they would contract the space in the middle by hauling on both ends of this floating fence, and still add to the strength and thickness as they doubled and trebled it outside. When the space inside was getting so small that the fish were jumping over on every side, the sport began. Some with hand or scoop nets, scooping the fish out; others catching them as they jumped over the fence; others with grains pinning the largest down to the ground as they tried to penetrate a passage through the fence; some with spears, clubs, and stones, securing them in any manner they could; and others filling the girls' baskets, who were engaged in carrying the fish off to the houses. After dinner, which was generally

[1] Tevolo, or devil; Lotu, or worship—terms generally applied in the Polynesian islands to those who reject, and those who follow, the instruction of the missionaries.

[2] Arum esculentum.

about two in the afternoon, I would stroll out to some house where they were drinking ava, and after taking three or four cups full, have a smoke, and then an afternoon nap. As soon as I awoke it would probably be supper time, and after having had that, which was generally cold, the "siva" (dance) would begin; and whatever part of the village the evening closed with me, there I took up my lodgings.

One day we saw a ship a good distance off, when I persuaded the king to let me go and inform the white people that there was plenty of pigs and taro to be sold on shore, promising at the same time to return in one of the boats, which he agreed to after a great deal of hesitation. I was taken in a canoe and met the boats coming in. I took them to a small settlement called Falasau, where we loaded and then went off to the ship. I offered to ship with the captain, but he had his full complement of men, so I was landed again in Leoni,[1] or Massacre Bay, Tutuila.

I began to think, as the natives were all Christians in this place, that I might as well make up my mind to settle there for good, and trade with the natives, and supply shipping, and so get a comfortable living. I commenced by getting myself a house built, and at the same time looking out for a wife. I found a young girl to my liking, and then took her to the Missionary and asked him if he would marry us, as I intended ending my days on the island. He said he could not think of such a thing, as perhaps I might marry to-day and go away in a ship to-morrow. This answer frustrated all my honest intentions, and I determined to go away in the first ship that came there. Not long after, I heard there was a brig come to an anchor in Pango Pango harbour. I started directly for her across the mountains, inquiring my way as I went. I soon arrived, and the natives said she was not a whaler, but a "vaa fa sana" (a saucy ship). I went off in a canoe; she had a boat a-head squaring yards, and a sentry on her gangway, and mounted twelve guns, manned by about sixty Spaniards; the captain, mate, and one or two other officers were English. I asked the captain if he would ship me; he said yes, and I stayed on board till she went to sea, which was in a few days after. We touched at Upolu, and then went away for the Feejees. On our passage we called at Niuafoou,[2] and went on shore and traded with the natives. The next day we signalled to a schooner that was off the island to heave-to, but, instead of that, she made sail and began to run away. We made all sail in chase, and soon came up with her, and then fired a shot

[1] Leoni Bay, although called on some of the charts Massacre Bay, is not the Massacre Bay of De la Perouse, which is on the north side of Tutuila.

[2] This is the Hope Island of Schouten, and the Proby Island of Captain Edwards, of the Pandora (1791).

across her bows; she then backed her foreyard and laid-to till we lowered a boat and went alongside. I was ordered to take the after oar, and, as we were pulling towards her, the captain observed to me that the vessel he sailed in was not the only vessel he owned, and that this one he was now going on board of he thought was one of his schooners, which he had trusted to a rascal of a fellow who had run away with her. He jumped up the schooner's side, passed the master who was on deck, and went down the companion into the cabin. The master of the schooner followed, and what was said or done in the cabin I never knew. I went on deck amongst the sailors, who seemed somewhat alarmed, and asked me if the vessel I belonged to was not a pirate. I told them I did not know. They said they hoped we would not take them, as they had nothing on board but teachers and books, which were not worth taking. My captain came up from the cabin, and we got into the boat and pulled on board our own vessel. He said it was not his vessel, but the Triton, Missionary schooner, but that he never was so deceived in his life at so short a distance, that he could have sworn it was one of his own schooners.

I began to grow very suspicious of the vessel I was in, and apprehended danger of being taken and perhaps being innocently punished, and so I fully made up my mind to leave the first opportunity. We soon after sighted Lakemba, one of the weather islands of the Feejees, whence Tubou Totai, a Tongan chief, came off in one of his large double canoes. We then went down to the island of Taveuni, and came to an anchor at the settlement of Somo-Somo.

That I might embrace the opportunity of making my escape, I supplied myself with a sheath-knife, sharpened well at the back and edge, as I intended to go away back in the bush, and not show myself to the natives till the ship had gone away, lest they should be induced by the offer of a reward, which I was sure the captain would offer, to carry me on board again.

I put on two duck frocks and two pairs of duck trowsers, and a quantity of tobacco and pipes in my cap, buckled my sheath-knife on me, and lowered myself down the cable into the water, and struck out for the shore, which was above half a mile off. I managed it very well till my frocks and trowsers became so stiff on account of being new duck, that I with great difficulty moved my limbs at all. I determined to disencumber myself by stripping, which I immediately began, but so very much weakened was I by the weight of the clothes, that I got one of the frocks over my head and there it stuck, rendering my arms almost useless. I sank, taking in an immense quantity of salt water. As soon as my feet struck soundings, I made a spring, and was at the surface almost immediately, when I collected myself, and, with almost

supernatural strength, disentangled myself, and then struck out, praying to the Great Omnipotent to give me strength to reach the shore: about ten minutes afterwards I touched the bottom, and then walked to the beach, where I fell prostrate offering up thanks for my safe delivery.

I rose up light of heart, if not strengthened in body, and started off for the bush, leaving the settlement on my left. I walked all the rest of the night and until the sun was high, when I fell in with a large running stream, where I refreshed myself by taking a good drink and bathing. I washed my clothes, spread them out on the stones to dry, and sat down naked, taking a retrospective view of my past life, and wondering what the future would be, when my reverie was broken in upon by an old savage-looking native walking up towards me with an inquiring look. After standing almost thunderstruck and speechless for about two minutes, he broke out talking so fast that, if even I had understood the language, I really think I could not have made out what he said. I understood, or rather guessed, one word that he repeated over about twenty times, which was "tambu." I likewise made out that he wanted me to understand that I was intruding on his land, which he called Vioni, and that I must give him my clothes, or else he would "moku" me (kill me), which I understood by the motion of his hands and the fierceness of his countenance; but I pretended not to take much notice of him, and hurried on my clothes as quickly as possible. I then made him understand that I wanted some fire to light my pipe. He conducted me up to a little house, supplied me with fire, and then wanted me to give him my knife and take off my clothes, to which I would not agree, but tried to pacify him with a part of my tobacco, which he understood the use of. He still persisted in wanting my clothes and knife; he then *cooe'd* aloud, when a young pleasant-looking man came running up with a club in his hand. He, the old man, chattered away, pointing to my clothes and knife, and looked terribly enraged, but the young man merely laughed, and seemed to pity me. He snatched the club from him, and was going to strike me with it, when I grasped my knife and rushed so close to him that he could not effect his purpose. As I had two pairs of trowsers, I thought I might as well let him have one. As I stepped back, intending to take a pair off, he made a blow with his club, aiming at my head, which I luckily dodged, and then plunged my knife into his bowels. At this the young fellow fled with precipitation in one direction, and I walked off pretty smartly in another. I gained the top of a hill and looked all round; I saw the smoke from the houses I had left at Somo-Somo, and made up my mind to retrace my steps, and throw myself on the mercy of the natives, and give them my clothes if they required them, rather than remain in the bush and

starve, or run the risk of being killed by the mountaineers. I accordingly started, and, when within half a mile of the town, I fell in with a lot of boys, who conducted me to the king's house. He made motions for me to stop with him, and not to return to the ship as there was plenty to eat and plenty of girls. The girls then by his orders fetched me a pot of fish, and pouring out the soup into a cocoa-nut shell, gave it me to drink, and then emptied the fish with some yam on to a trencher, covered with clean green leaves. One girl peeled my yam, another separated the bone from the fish, whilst a third was fanning the flies away with a cocoa-nut leaf fan. Mr. Hunt, one of the missionaries residing there, came in and informed me that the captain wanted me back. I told him that the ship was a very bad ship, and that I would never go on board unless carried. He said I could please myself, but reminded me that I was amongst a bad set of natives, who were very treacherous, and would feed me to-day and perhaps kill me to-morrow. He then told the king that the captain would give him a musket and some powder if he would take me on board. The king said he would do no such thing, but I must stop there and be his "manu manu" (bird), as he termed me. By this time it was dark, and they began to drink the angona,[1] the women relieving each other with lighted torches made from the dry cocoa-nut buds. Everybody appeared to behave with decorum, and not to move about the house more than was required. When they did, they crawled along stooping very low, and when they reached anything down that was hanging up, which they wanted to use, they would use the words "Julo julo" (I beg pardon), and sitting down would clap their hands twice or three times pretty sharply, which signified respect.

After the ship had gone, Tuithakau said he was about to visit his "galis" (places that were tributary to him), and asked me if I would accompany him, as it would be very amusing to see the Vanua Levu[2] girls dance (for which they were considered famous) and have a "kana vonu" (turtle feast).

When the canoes were ready, he asked me to fetch his chair on board, as it was *tabued* for any one to touch it excepting himself or me, which I found was true, for they all cleared me a good thoroughfare through the crowd as I passed on towards the canoe, lest by accident any should be touched by the chair. I took it on board and placed it in the house on the canoe, when his majesty seated himself, and asked me to return to the house and fetch down his pet cock and a bird with a red beak, which were all his manu manus, and tabued as his chair.

I did so, and then the sail was hoisted with pendants flying to

[1] Ava, or Kava, of the Polynesian islands.

[2] Vanua Levu, or Great Land—one of the largest islands of the group adjoining Taveuni.

distinguish his canoe from the rest. We were the fastest sailing canoe of the fleet, and the second was his son's (Tui-kila-kila). When we were about half way across, they threw overboard a quantity of provisions, and were perfectly silent till they had passed over the spot where the god of the sea (a large shark) was supposed to reside. Directly after this the sheet of the sail caught my cap and knocked it overboard; a man was ordered to jump after it, which he did unhesitatingly, notwithstanding my endeavours to dissuade him. I thought Tui-kila-kila's canoe would pick him up, and took no further notice of it till she arrived, which she did directly after us. I inquired where the man was who had gone after my cap. They said I had better put a Feejeean head-dress on, to keep the sun from my head; I told them I did not care about the cap, but only to know if the man was safe, asking why they did not pick him up. They told me not to disturb myself about him as he was nothing but a kaisi (slave or poor man), and that the sharks had eaten him. But in the course of the day he arrived safe, with my cap in his mouth, which tended greatly to enliven my spirits, which were very much depressed, reflecting that I had been the occasion of two deaths already.

We remained here two or three days, eating and drinking all the time on the best the place afforded, and prepared in the best manner. There were turtle, pigs, and fowls, baked, boiled, and roasted; with vegetables of half a dozen different sorts, together with fruit prepared for use as we use pastry, and then fruit for dessert. After that the women, especially the best-looking, were requested to dance before the house for the amusement of the king and his manu manu, who were drinking angona to excess inside.

The women and girls then placed themselves in a long row opposite the house, and a fire was kindled between it and them that they might be seen, as it was by this time dark. Their hair was all pricked out to an immense size, and decorated with flowers; and their skins rubbed with oil scented with sandalwood. They each had on a "liku" (dress) made of the bark of trees, prepared and dyed all manner of colours, and plaited very neatly. The lower part hung in fringes, so as to reach just above the knee, while the upper part formed a band round the waist, so as not to hide any part of their figures (which were generally beautiful), and at the same time answered the purpose of covering their nakedness.

When the dance broke up Tui-kila-kila asked me if would go and sleep at his house, which was some distance from where his father was staying. I went with him, and we turned into bed, or rather lay down on the mats, where there were about fifty of his concubines, all different petty chiefs' daughters, and mostly good-looking. He told me to make myself quite at home, as it was all in the family, and I was a manu manu of his father's, and no

harm could overtake me as I was tabued. The women also told me to make a regular practice of sleeping there of a night, and that they should always expect me.

At length their feasting resources were almost exhausted, which the inhabitants of the place were in no way backward in letting us know by their repeated apologies, informing us that the turtle-ponds were completely empty, as well as the pigsties; and that their yam and taro patches were undergoing a material change; which, by-the-bye, we might have known by the difference in the quantity of provisions, decreasing every day as we prolonged our stay. But, they said, the thing that grieved them most was that they were not able to entertain the visitors so generously as during the first day or two, as the state of the weather was so bad that their fishing abilities did not suffice to supply the deficiency of the turtle. We accordingly took the hint, and set sail, taking with us a quantity of large earthen cooking-pots (for which this place was famous) to the amount of about one hundred and fifty. They conveyed them on board the different canoes with alacrity, and seemed to give them with great good-will, glad enough, I thought, to get rid of us at that price.

We took away two young women, the daughters of the chief of that place, whom the prince had thought proper to honour in assisting to enlarge his harem, entirely in consideration (as he said) of their birth and personal qualities, but taking care at the same time not to hint in the slightest at the use they would be put, as servants, or kaisis, after the first night, as he would probably care little about them afterwards.

We sailed along the coast some ten or twelve miles to a place where, I was informed, people had just come to prepare plantations of vegetables and tapa groves, and keep a strict look out that the cocoa-nut tabu was not violated by different canoes' crews that were in the habit of putting up here for a night or so as they performed their various voyages from place to place. These people were the remnant of a powerful tribe, formerly much respected and feared on account of the great god who was supposed, and even is to this day, to inhabit that part. This place, called Vuna, is on the island of Taveuni, and distant from Somo-Somo about fourteen or fifteen miles. It was conquered and destroyed shortly before I landed by the Somo-Somo people, when all they did not kill they took prisoners, and amongst them was the king of Vuna, whom they spared to officiate as overseer for his own people, who were to serve a stipulated period for their freedom. What struck me most was the great distinction that existed between them and their conquerors. When we arrived on the beach they approached us in the most submissive manner, crawling on their hands and knees, clapping their hands occasionally, and not venturing to address their conversation till they

were asked different questions respecting the progress they had made in cultivation, put to them in the most authoritative tone by the old tyrant Tui-thakau, which they answered in a humble and respectful tone, using the expression saka (please your majesty) every two or three words. But as there is an end to all things, so it pleased Providence, who watches and pities the depression of all his creatures, to put an end to this.

Not long after, it happened that the Somo-Somo people went down to Bau, where they received the most strict injunctions from Tanoa and his son Thakombau to set these poor Vuna natives at liberty, and assist in rebuilding the sacred city, which they had so sacrilegiously destroyed.

All at once it was discovered that I had omitted to bring on board the pet cock at the last place we left. Whilst all the natives were upbraiding me for inattention to my great and good father, as they called him, he felt annoyed at it for the moment, but only said, "What could one expect from a white man?" and then ordered a canoe to be manned and sent to fetch it. They started back, and arrived safe with the manu manu the next morning, The man that took the cock up to bring him ashore had his hands completely enrolled in tapa to prevent his flesh touching it. This circumstance caused a great deal of laughter, especially with the women, who, when they saw my unconcerned indifference, were continually reminding me of it, and pretending to scold me. At last I, not properly understanding their fashions and superstitions (indeed how should I in so short a time), asked them what they wanted with the confounded cock? asserting at the same time that if he were mine I should make a pot of soup with him. This declaration had a most sudden effect in changing their countenances. Instead of laughing, they all looked most desperately angry, and commenced at once upon me with their tongues, which are here, as in other parts, rather inclined to be long. The king having inquired the cause of this noise, and been informed, told me, however insignificant the remark appeared to me, had it been made by a Feejeean, instead of a white man, he should have had him "moku'd" (killed), and have made an excellent "faka siga levu" (dinner) off him; but he summed it up in his usual way by saying, "What could be expected from a papalangi (foreigner)?"

After I had spent the two first months of the year 1841 with Tui-thakau, a chief called Bonavidongo (Stinking Mangrove, which name had been conferred on him for the bravery with which he had beaten off a numerous tribe that were trying to subject Nateva, where he was married and resided) came to solicit Tui-thakau to join the army of another chief, Tui Mativata, for the purpose of quelling a disturbance that had lately arisen between Male (an island off the Vanua Levu coast) and Mouta, a neighbouring district.

The name Bonavidongo implies an intolerable stench, caused by the dead bodies lying amongst the mangrove wood, and which he had slaughtered in great numbers as they were retreating from the town to the beach.

Bonavidongo performed his message from Tui Mativata as ambassador to Somo-Somo by presenting a great quantity of masi (tapa), which he (Bonavidongo) had formerly supplied to Tui Mativata from Nateva, which place was famous for that article. It was presented in large "katodraus" (bales), which were bound up with sennet, each bale containing some thousands of fathoms of beautifully marked tapa, and requiring from twenty to thirty men to carry it. They were accepted by Tui-thakau, who, after the usual thanks had been given, told the ambassador he should collect all his galis, and his ally (Lakemba) with all the foreigners, of whom there were a great many, from Tongatabu and Uea (Wallis' Island), as well as some Samoans who had accompanied the Tongans, and in a few days take their departure for Mouta. He would also pick up all the assistance he could as they went along the coast of Vanua Levu, of which Mouta is a part, the islaand of Male being just opposite.

In a few days we accordingly started, the fleet of canoes consisting of about forty, and the number of natives about two thousand. We made a short stay at Rampe for the purpose of refreshing our people, as sufficient provisions could not be carried for the whole. This island is fifteen miles from Somo-Somo, and here we were supplied with yams and crabs; the latter being so plentiful that I dare say, without exaggeration, there was collected in one heap two hundred bushels, ready cooked and strung on sticks. Here they ate and drank their fill; and we then continued on towards our destination, the Rampe (or Rambe) canoes joining us, taking with us all the provisions that remained of the crab feast. Some nights we called at uninhabited parts, on account of having no wind, and being obliged to scull, paddle, or pole, as circumstances required, when we could make but little progress; and then we were mostly obliged to sleep in the canoes, jammed up in such a manner as to be actually lying in two and three layers on the top of each other. At one place we called at, on account of its being small and containing but few inhabitants, they could not supply us with enough provisions for the whole of our party, but I soon discovered that they made no scruple in making up the deficiency with dogs, cats, snakes, lizards, and large white grubs with black heads that are found in rotten wood. The dogs and cats they would just give a blow to, more to stun than kill them, and throw them into an immense fire, and after letting them lie five minutes on one side turned them over once, so as to cook them a little on the other, and then draw them from the fire and eat them; and the grubs they would eat raw. This

beastly way of feeding very much surprised me, because, in all preparations relating to food previous to this, I had observed that they were extremely particular. When I inquired the cause of the change, they informed me that they felt proud that they were able to endure such hard fare, and that it was essential to their warlike customs, as they could not expect to sleep as well in war-time as in peace, and that they must endure every inconvenience, and pay no attention whatever to comfort.

We at last arrived all safe at Mouta. It was up a long serpentine, narrow river, each bank very thickly covered with mangrove trees, and a very dark and dismal looking place it was, being completely overhung by trees, and so close were they, that one could scarcely discern the least glimmer of the sun, although it was midday. In the middle of the town stood the king's (Tui Mativata's) house, and facing it stood the "bure" (temple, speaking-house, &c.), there being about one hundred and fifty houses in all, standing on a slight rise of ground, so as to command a view of the surrounding country.

Some whales' teeth, which are used upon nearly all such occasions, were taken up to the king's house and presented to him, with a speech, telling him that, at his request, they had come, and continuing to relate everything that had happened during the time they had been coming, not omitting the minutest circumstance, and concluding by repeating the names of several imaginary heathen gods, and especially the god of war, putting a peculiar stress on "Turanga ni nivalu" (god of war).

They were then conducted across the road, by the king, to the bure, which they saluted as they entered by calling out all at once, Dwa dwa waa! and they all seated themselves as soon as they were in, it being a mark of irreverence to the sacredness of the temple and its "nambete" (priest) to stand up.

The speech was then repeated, and the "tukutuku" (different receptions and occurrences) related again as before. The priest then put out his hand and took hold of the whales' teeth, making a speech, which was listened to with great attention, because it was considered prophetic. He summed it up by encouraging all present to be obedient to and desirous of gratifying the appetite of the god, and especially at the times he thought proper to enter him, reminding them that all their success depended on this obedience, and that he was a great lover of animal food, and especially "bakōlă" (human flesh). This encouragement tended to make them light of heart, and to try their abilities in procuring some human flesh for the priest and the king, who I soon afterwards had an opportunity of discovering, was a greater cannibal than the priest. They accordingly started off the next morning early for Male, which we soon reached, the wind being favourable.

The inhabitants of Male live on the very top of a mountain, in shape like a sugar-loaf, with only one path up it. At the top they can easily guard the path, and defy ten times as many as themselves by rolling large stones upon them as they advance upwards. Aware of the safety of their natural defence, they sometimes sally forth and commit great depredations on the main land, taking off women as prisoners, and killing the men for food. As soon as we were close enough to distinguish the natives on the mountain we saw that they were "bole" (challenging) by their antics and beckoning to us with their hands; and when we had got on shore, and could hear what they said, we made out their speech of defiance to be, that they were extremely tired of waiting for us, especially as they had anticipated this visit so long, but, as we had at last made our appearance, they were quite ready to begin at once. They would remind us at the same time that they were well supplied with "gassau ni Viti" (Feejee lead, or rather large stones), and, in the event of them failing, they were well supplied with "nuku ni Bulatangi" (British sand, or powder), and plenty of "vua ni kau" (pills), meaning musket-balls, which they could afford to administer very generously. They said they saw that we had all the Feejees and Tongas with us, but they hoped we would not have the presumption to attack till we had collected the whole world, Bulatangani, Franse, and Meriki (which they thought composed the whole), to assist us. Each party continued for some time this kind of banter to each other, till three of the Male people ventured halfway down the path, where they stood and dared any or all to come up. As they were shaking their "masi" (or waist-belts) behind them, in the most deriding manner, all our party that had muskets fired and killed the three (one being completely riddled through and through), and then rushed up and caught the bodies as they rolled down the path. A number of our people were wounded, and as some of them, or perhaps all, went rather for amusement than revenge, here the affair ended.

The dead bodies were set up in a row on their hinder parts, with a pole rove through their legs, just under their knees, to keep them in a sitting posture on the bows of the canoe. We then pushed off, our natives singing out, "Satiko, satiko" (Good bye, good bye); and telling the enemy that they should call upon them again shortly, as their place was so conveniently situated to Mouta, and take a few more, just enough at a time, for Tui Mativata and the priest; in short, that they should take them just in the same way as a man kills his pigs, and they were to be sure and feed themselves well, so as to have the honour of being eaten by the chief himself, because he preferred fat meat. The drums then were kept beating all the way. We soon reached

Mouta; and as I had seen so much of their dark ways, and knew that my absence or presence would not affect their proceedings, I thought I would witness all I could, till I saw an opportunity of getting off the islands.

The bodies, which were painted up with vermilion and soot, were carefully handed out, and placed in the road, or rather square, between the king's house and the bure. Then an old man advanced up to them, and laying his hand on each (everybody being present, and not a sound to be heard), he began by talking to the bodies in a low tone, asking each, while he held one of their hands in his own, "Why he had been so rash in coming so far down the hill? that he was extremely sorry to see him in such a predicament; and whether he did not feel ashamed of himself now that he was obliged to encounter the gaze of such a crowd, and especially when he reflected on the challenging antics he had been cutting such a very little time ago?" This kind of a man was called "dau vosa" (orator); and it must be understood that the success, or the opposite, of a war is always communicated by the means of a canoe despatched to the interested party, so that by this means the old orator became acquainted with every minute circumstance before we arrived. The orator's business is to influence the people by his eloquence to take satisfaction on their enemies, and after they have succeeded, he takes care to thank them for their trouble, and convert their black, bloody, and wicked ways into mere amusement, making, as it were, a comedy of a tragedy. The butcher-priest and orator, I found, were the greatest cannibals, excepting the king.

The old orator commenced his bantering in a low tone, but kept raising it as he became more excited, and waxed warm with his eloquence, till at last he had to call out as loud as his lungs would admit. To finish off with success he kicked the bodies down as they were sitting up in such formal order, and then ran off, the air ringing with the shouts and bursts of laughter of the spectators; while the bodies were dragged along by one leg or an arm, or any other part that could be first caught hold of, over stones, through sloughs, or anything else, the more obstructions encountered the better for the general amusement.

At last they hauled them up to a place that was used purposely for the dressing, cooking, and eating of human flesh. It was at the back of the town, where a very high, lonely "bure kalou" (temple of a god) stood, entirely enveloped in trees, mostly iron-wood; and in front was a heap of human bones whitened by the weather. In the inside the priest was sitting, with his long beard hanging down on the little table constructed of human bones, and his chopsticks of the same material, in his fingers, the nails of which were an inch and a half long. On the table lay two skulls used for

drinking angona, several more lying about on the floor. At the further end, inside, were placed several muskets with which men had been killed, dedicated to the god, and a great many clubs of different sorts; the short, round-headed ones, I observed, had men's teeth sticking in them, where they had been clubbed in their mouths. Overhead, where the priest was sitting, was a lattice-work, used to put a leg or arm of a man upon, for the god to eat at his leisure, as he said; and the bones of such parts were lying there, which were left from time to time, no one thinking of disturbing them or anything else belonging to this sacred place. On each side hung long pieces of broad tapa of different colours, suspended from the very top of the ridge poles and reaching down to the floor, which assisted very much in giving it a serious or sacred aspect. They were hung very thickly, so as to form a kind of graceful veil, and seemed to convey the supposition, that, although black deeds were worked outside, blacker were concealed behind these dismal-looking curtains.

Outside, between the house and the iron-wood fence, was a fire kindled, with stones heaped upon it heating, ready to cook the bodies as soon as they were dissected, which office the "tafa tamata" (butcher) expeditiously performed with his tools, using them alternately as the difficulty of dissecting required. These tools were knives, shells, a little hatchet, and a quantity of bamboo, the latter being preferred for cutting through flesh, as it is so easily sharpened by just splitting off the blunt edge, and forming a new one where it is newly split.

The king being very impatient to begin, and not choosing to wait till it was properly prepared, told the butcher just to slice off the end of the noses, and he would roast them while he was getting the other parts ready. The butcher did as he was ordered, and handed the three ends of the noses to his majesty, which he grasped hold of very nimbly, and put on the hot stones to warm a little, not wishing to lose any time. The first he hardly let warm through, but while he was eating it, the second got a little better done, which he quickly demolished. While he had the third in his hand, his eye caught mine looking at him with surprise, which he misinterpreted into another meaning, thinking that I was longing for a taste. His generous feeling overcame his love of this diet, and he immediately offered me the last nose he held between his thumb and finger, declaring that he had not observed me before, or he should have given me one of the two he had just eaten, which, he observed, were delicious; but "better late than never," he said, running up to me and attempting to put it in my mouth. I started back, pretending to be more afraid and disgusted, if possible, than I really was, telling him that I had gone beyond the bounds of an Englishman to be even a spectator of such a scene, and telling him that this kind of work

was not always believed when spoken of in my country. He seemed very much surprised that I would not accept what to him seemed the best food imaginable, and asked me if I would like some pork. I said, Yes, provided it was cooked away from his food, and not meddled with by anybody that had anything to do with it.

At last I made him comprehend the disgust we had to these practices, but could not by any means instil into him the wickedness of them. He said the priest always told him that bloodshed and war, and everything connected with them, were acceptable to their gods. I told him that his gods were all false, and that it was the wicked god (the devil) that put these things into their heads, because he was an enemy of the true God. I went on to explain to him these things, but he said, "different countries, different fashions, and, in like manner, different gods."

As soon as the butcher had finished his part, the stones being red hot, they were spread out, and green leaves thrown upon them to slacken the heat. The flesh was then put into this "lovo" (oven), and when cooked, which was not till the next morning, shared out according to rank, distinction, &c. I saw that the king, priest, orator, and butcher, had by no means a scanty share, other chiefs getting no more than about a pound each, of which they would eat very sparingly, inviting their most intimate acquaintance to have a taste, and then wrap the rest up very carefully, intending to take a piece to their respective homes as a trophy of their exploits. Several invited me to partake of their small allowance, and all were equally surprised with Tui Mativata at my refusal.

This being finished off with dancing and different savage entertainments, in a few days we returned to Somo-Somo, when the news was told to Tui-thakau of all that had happened, with a great deal of exaggeration, which is considered a Feejeean accomplishment, and treachery another, the latter being thought the *ne plus ultra* attainable by mankind.

This short acquaintance with Bonavidongo being enough to convince me that I would be as safe in his company and under his protection as I could expect to be in a country like this, I persuaded Tui-thakau to let me go on a visit to Nateva, being desirous of seeing a little of the interior of the Vanua Levu, to which, I had previously ascertained from Bonavidongo, he was a vasu (relation, that is, entitled to claim anything) from about forty towns, on account of his mother being the king's daughter of Wace Wace, an inland city having these forty towns in subjection. On the promise of Bonavidongo to see me sent safely back in two months, Tui-thakau allowed me to go with him. I accordingly started with Bonavidongo for that part of Vanua Levu just opposite to Somo-Somo.

We landed on Vanua Levu, and walked across that part,

leaving a long neck of land to our right, and passing through one town or village, the inhabitants of which they called "Kai or Ai le kutu" (meaning country people). I saw that they were very much inferior in almost every respect to the Somo-Somo people, being much darker and ill-shaped, with countenances indicating very little or no intellect. They evinced much curiosity at seeing me, some of them scarcely believing their own senses, putting forth their hands towards me to prove whether I was tangible or not; while others would come and shake their hands before my eyes to ascertain if I was blind, and then say I was not blind, but had eyes like a cat. Others would say I was a leper, or like one, which others would contradict, by saying I resembled a pig with all the hair scorched off more than anything they knew of. The young girls would not come nigh at all, and if any of the young men laid hold of them to force them close to me, they would scream as though they were going into fits.

The next day we reached Nateva Matua (Old Nateva), a place situated about five miles inland of Nateva Savana (sea-coast Nateva). It was an immense rock, in shape like an old castle, and perpendicular on each side, excepting a small point which came down in a gradual slant, up which was a path only wide enough for one to ascend at a time. On the top it was completely flat, with about fifty large houses in good repair. On the very extreme edge was built a high, thick, stone wall, so as to protect the houses from fire-arms, with loop-holes through the walls. In front of each house was a large deep hole lined with stones in shape like a well, and in these holes they had a sufficient quantity of "mandrai" (preserved bread-fruit) to last a four years' siege. They told me that in the last war they had had, nearly all the Feejees, and a great many Tongans, were on Tanoa's side; and after being completely driven out of Nateva Savana, which they were obliged to evacuate, they fled to Nateva Matua, where they stopped and defied all their enemies' efforts, notwithstanding their numbers. They said they always kept this place in good repair and well supplied with provisions, as they did not know the moment an assault would take place, and always replenished the stock every "aliaki" (crop); but that they would not live here altogether unless obliged by necessity, as they preferred the "savana" (sea-coast), on account of the advantage of fishing, &c.

At last we reached Nateva Savana, which was situated about half a mile from the beach of "Wai tue mate" (dead or still salt water). It was a large town, well fortified with wood and stone walls. Outside of these was an embankment about twelve feet high and almost as many thick, and a deep moat entirely surrounding everything, leaving one narrow entrance, which was approached by a path from the beach, very narrow, with a deep ditch on each

side, full of water. All along the bottom of the ditches were stuck stakes sharpened at the upper end and hardened in fire, so that if you fell into either ditch these stakes would enter the body; but on account of the thickness of the water they would not be observed. They had smaller stakes, or rather skewers, which they always kept at hand for the purpose of filling up the narrow entrance at the approach of an enemy. These skewers, which they could plant a long way from the town, were baked and hardened, and then poisoned. They would dig a hole a foot deep, big enough to admit a man's foot, and place this skewer in the bottom, with the poisoned end upwards, so that, if a man were walking carelessly along and not minding every footstep, he might step into the hole with sufficient force, in consequence of the depth, for it to penetrate his foot, and sometimes cause sudden death.

About the middle of the town stood the house of the "turanga levu" (great chief). It was a large, oblong, strangely built house, erected on a stone foundation eight or ten feet high. The front door was exactly in the middle of one side, and about six or eight feet broad, to which led a flight of stone steps about twenty in number, the same breadth as the doorway, with a carved railing on each side. The foundation of the house projected five or six feet beyond the sides, and was covered at the surface with two or three feet of rich soil, which was filled up with a luxuriant shrubbery, enriched by the dropping of the eaves. In front was a large square, where they performed their "so levu" (show of property), entirely surrounded with subordinate chiefs' residences, imitating, in construction, the head chief's.

Bonavidongo, who was likewise called "Turangā ni avalu" (fighting chief), led the way into the square into the large house, saluting it as he entered with Dwa dwa wa. All the people in the house shifted back to make room as we entered. A large root of Somo-Somo angona, and a small piece of the "mali bakola" (human flesh), was presented as a kind of preliminary to the tukutuku (speech). They then related all their adventures, from the time they had left the house they were then sitting in, till their return, remarking and congratulating his majesty on his good health, and invoking the gods to prove always propitious to them in all their undertakings, and concluded by saying, "Manai e dina" (Amen, may it be so, by all supernatural power).

This old king or chief was a very large man, weighing perhaps seventeen stone, with a very light-coloured skin, almost as fair as a white man's. He was between fifty and sixty years of age, his hair a silvery white, with little or no beard, and a high and expansive forehead with a prepossessing countenance, and he wore his finger-nails long, I observed, in the same way as the Mouta priests. He called me up to him, and said, "Sa loloma?" (How do you

do?) and inquired if I liked the appearance of Nateva as well as Somo-Somo. He told me he was the king of Nateva and its dependencies, and quite independent of all other places in the Feejees; that he always was, and hoped he always should be; although he did not pretend to rank with Tui-thakau, neither did he exact as much obeisance from his subjects, but that he treated his people in such a manner as to insure their love and respect as well as fear: and although there was not as much pomp and grandeur in his place as in Somo-Somo, yet he dared to say that I should find myself quite as comfortable and contented, as they had their own simple amusements and recreations. He said I could occasionally take a trip over on to the opposite shore, where I might do whatever I thought proper, as no restrictions could be put upon me because I lived with the "vasu levu" (the great privileged), and that I might shoot hogs for sport, and take the women by force, so that my character would correspond with my father's. He then began to give me Bonavidongo's history, saying that his father was Tui Mativata, and his mother a Wace Wace chief's daughter, and that he had several names, one being Tui revu revu, another Bonavidongo, another Vasu Levu, and explaining the reason for his having so many. He said that Bonavidongo had married his eldest daughter, and had become his son-in-law, and that I was consequently his grandson, and was quite welcome at his place, and he hoped I would remain with with them altogether and not go back to Somo-Somo. He said I must go into the interior of Vanua Levu on the opposite shore and show myself to the "ai le kutu" (bush people) and "lia lia" (foolish people), as so extremely ignorant were they that, for all he could do to persuade them that there was such a thing as a white man, they would not believe it, and he wished me to go as soon as my father went over to "vasu kanayau" (lay claim to property) and convince them of the fact. On my telling him that I had seen the difference between the bush people and the sea-coast already, he said the point of land I had crossed in coming was of no width, and that the inhabitants came down to the salt water occasionally, but in the interior of the opposite shore there were tens of thousands of people that had never seen it, nor had their forefathers. I thought that was a Feejee exaggeration, and smiled rather doubtingly; he observed it, and assured me it was a fact, as it was not the size of the land I must judge by, but the hostile tribes that intervened. He observed me looking up overhead at the "katodrau ni masi" (tapa bales) that were stowed and packed up on the top of each other on a kind of strong lattice-work loft, and reached to the very roof of the house, and said that these were made purposely to give away to other places for the sake of being at peace with every "vanua turanga" (chief or ruling government), but, notwithstanding all his efforts

and manœuvres, it was with great difficulty that he managed to keep himself from being reduced to a gali (or tributary place).

After I had been there a little while, a "so levu levu" (a show of property and making of presents) was proposed, and ambassadors to each government were sent to invite them to visit Nateva in so many days for that purpose, and likewise to discuss national affairs. I observed they had each a quantity of sticks of different lengths, which were taken for the purpose of assisting the memory, the number of sticks being always the number of topics they were to treat upon; and according to the importance of the subject they had the sticks long or short.

They arrived at the time appointed and met our Nateva people in the square, who were all dressed up in as much native cloth as they could stand under, with all the bales laid out and already shared out to the places that had been invited. All the strangers came up armed with spears and clubs, one tribe at a time, saluting the place as they advanced. The different places each tribe belonged to were known by the peculiar way of salutation. As every tribe walked past the Nateva people, who stood still with their faces blackened and reddened up in different ways, some having, as it were, a pair of spectacles on, others blackened all over except the nose, while others preferred just reddening the cheeks. The strangers passed on, one at a time, in rapid succession, the chief always going first, in front of the inhabitants, who formed a half circle. As they passed, each about the centre threw down whales' teeth, more or less, according to their rank, abilities, disposition, &c., but all threw something, and, proceeding on to the opposite part of the square, sat down as far back as they could get, for the sake of making room for the other tribes that were coming along in the same way.

As soon as the last tribe had passed, the inhabitants began stripping themselves and giving the native cloth they took off away, while one man was walking up to each heap of bales and proclaiming aloud the names of the different parties they were intended for.

The orator, having solicited silence, then said he was extremely happy to see them once more collected in such an amicable party, and hoped that that day's meeting would be the means of cementing them together in eternal friendship. If it did not prove as he wished, it was not the fault of Nateva, because, he remarked, there could be no deception on their side, or they never would have taken the trouble to work day and night, as it were, to make cloth to oblige their neighbours, and they had even gone so far as to strip themselves naked for the sake of exemplifying their good will and desire of peace; they were blessed with a good and wise ruler, who knew well how to appreciate the value of peace, and he hoped no difficulties or jealousies would arise from

the distribution of the property, as it had been shared as impartially as was consistent with former services conferred.

Various speeches of this kind were made, and whales' teeth again and again presented backwards and forwards to each other. Suffice it to say, that each of these presentations was intended in the end to produce *individual benefit*, although embellished with eloquent language mixed up in such a crafty way as to wear the appearance of a wish for the public good.

They then retired from the square to a long receiving house built for the purpose of accommodating visitors, where the inhabitants supplied them with provisions of the best quality the country afforded, and in great quantity. They accepted the supplies very thankfully, and, in proof of their gratitude, they all went out in front of the heaps of provisions and danced a very merry war-dance, making the air fairly ring again with the clapping of hands, clashing of arms, beating of bamboo, &c., and accompanying it with songs evidently composed for the purpose, as the words and gestures indicated the way they would serve the enemies of Nateva, which place had treated them so well, if ever required.

There was a great difference between this place and Somo-Somo with respect to chiefs and their wives, concubines, servants, &c. The head chief had no wives at all (they were all dead), nor servants; but his two daughters were very dutiful, and seemed to pay great attention to him. His house was generally full of men, who would do the cooking without being asked, although perhaps they had come from some distant place that very day, and on the morrow were going to return, but their absence was always supplied by others. These people would come from different petty places to tell the news, such as what success their place had in the cultivation of their crops, and how much longer it would be before a bale of cloth was finished and when they should bring it home, as they called Nateva. They always brought a backload of provisions each, some having shrimps, others eels, some yams, others taro, &c., or pigs, which were generally used on public occasions. They would enter the town, saluting in a low tone, and go round to the back-door of the great chief's house; there they would unload themselves beside the pots that were placed ready for cooking, and commence kindling a fire, whilst one would take the calabashes and run for water, the rest chewing angona and talking on subjects of little or no consequence. By the time the first drink of angona was finished, the "vasi" (crust) would be cooked, dished up on wooden trenchers, and shared out, the king getting his share first, the only distinction shown in his way of living. He would spend his life in this way, drinking angona, eating when hungry, and sleeping when he was tired of talking either by day or night; he was always on his

mats, and if he felt too lazy to sit, he would lie down, one of his daughters handing him his wooden pillow to rest his head upon.

I visited all the towns on each side of Nateva. One day when I was at a place called Vusaratu, the natives gave me some eels to eat, and asked me if we had any in "papalangi" (white man's country)? When I said we had, they asked me if there were any king eels amongst them; I answered no; when they straightway conducted me to a fresh-water hole with a temple erected at one end. In this hole there was an immense sized eel; his body at the thickest part was as big round as a stout man's thigh, and his head was enormously large and frightful, but his whole length I could not tell; they said he was two fathoms long. I inquired the meaning of the temple, they said it was his, and that he was a "kalou" (or spirit). I thought I would prove the veneration they held him in, so I pointed my musket at him and cocked it: they seemed to be extremely agitated, and begged me to desist, and then ran off and fetched some cooked bread-fruit to propitiate him for the insult offered, which he took from their hands. They told me that he was of a great age, and that he had eaten several infants which they had given him at different times—children of prisoners taken in war.

I soon after this accompanied Bonavidongo to the opposite shore for the purpose of collecting property, and took my musket with me to shoot pigs, fowls, birds, &c. We soon reached the other side, it not being more than ten or twelve miles across the bay, and, leaving our canoes in charge of the inhabitants, proceeded on towards Wace Wace, calling at numerous towns, and always having provisions cooked, besides pigs sent down to the canoes alive. At last we reached Wace Wace. It was standing on a good-sized plain. We were ushered into the Great Temple, and the tuku-tuku (or narrative) stated as usual, telling the natives how I came amongst them, what a distance I came from, with all the different stories I had told them concerning the manners and customs of my own country, and that I was one of the very selfsame people that made the most destructive weapons of war, "dakai" (muskets), which they (the country-people) always believed were made by "kalou" (devil, spirit, or supernatural agency). The inhabitants frequently interrupted, asking if I was a "tamata dina" (real man), and if I was perfectly harmless, or if I was one of those "kalou tamata ta falangena" (incarnate devils with a tail), and if I had not got my tail secreted inside my trowsers (masi). Our people laughed heartily at the comparative ignorance between themselves and the ai le kutu (countrymen), which word was always used in derision, I found afterwards, throughout the Feejees.

They said, if I had no tail, they dared to say I had had it

docked since I came into this country for the purpose of being thought a man like themselves, but that they were quite certain there was a little of the kalou about me, or else I could never make muskets, as it was evident that the "nuku" (powder, literally sand) was from some "vanua kalou" (devil's country). They also asked how we could get axes hard enough, in a natural country, to cut down the trees which the barrels of muskets were made of, when even fire itself would not consume them, thinking they were made of wood, or rather that iron was wood. Directly after all this we all went out to look at the provisions collected in a heap, which were raw, and to my surprise I saw a young virgin sitting on the top of the yams, oiled all over, her skin decorated off with leaves, and painted in the face, her hair fantastically dressed and stuck full of flowers, with a new dress round her middle, and a very gaudy one it was. It struck me instantly what she was intended for, because I had been told that when they give the provisions away raw to any great personage the animals are always given away alive to correspond; and having already had proofs of their notorious cannibalism, I was quite certain she was to be cooked with the yams. It immediately struck me that it was in my power to save her life, I being such a privileged character amongst them. I began therefore to upbraid them in a very abusive manner, and cursed them all for being kalous themselves, and told them I was a real man and despised such ways, and swore the first that offered to butcher the woman I would shoot. I then turned round on Bonavidongo, and told him that he had brought me away from Tui-thakau, where I was looked upon as a man and treated as a natural being; but since he had had me, I was shown about as a novelty; that I had been so long with him, and had not been offered a wife, and that it was more than I could stand to see him eating nice young women who were so desirable in my eyes alive, and if he did not save the girl's life I would leave him altogether. They all laughed and said the "papalangi falangene" (white man with a tail) wanted a wife, wanted a wife—passing the word along throughout the town. This so exasperated me as to make me lose all fear or precaution for the preservation of my life. In my frenzy I rushed up the yam heap and laid hold of the girl by the hand and hauled her down, and then led her up to a tree, sticking my back against it, and cocked my musket, which I always had loaded with ball cartridge, and stood on the defensive, swearing I would shoot the first one that came towards me.

They all burst out laughing, and said, they were sorry to see me put myself in such a rage, adding, "Watima, watima" (she is your wife, she is your wife).

As soon as they had collected enough property for Bonavidongo, we all took leave of them and started back for the beach, I taking

my wife with me. She remained with me all the time I stayed in Nateva, and proved very faithful and grateful for my saving her life.

Some time after this I again accompanied Bonavidongo to a place on Vanua Levu. It was at the extreme point of the entrance to Wai-tue-mate; the name of the point was Udu, and the name of the town Nawii. This is the place where they some time afterwards killed several white men, cut them up alive, and made one of them eat part of his own flesh raw, and then cooked them all, offering their flesh as a sacrifice to the different gods. One of the missionaries bought their boat afterwards from a Tongan native named Liku, who brought it to Somo Somo from Udu, and then returned it to Ovalau, where a white man lived, who was part owner of the boat, and whose name was Valentine.

One morning, about two o'clock, Bonavidongo roused me up, telling me that they were going down the coast, to an uninhabited island, to gather calabashes, and desired me to buckle on my cartridge-box and put plenty of cartridges in it, because that island lay just off Namuka, which place was an inveterate enemy of Nawii. I was unwilling to go, and said I would stay at Nawii till they returned. He said, if I stayed I should have to stop alone, as nearly all the people were going. I, being obliged to succumb at times, agreed to go. We accordingly started, and ran down the coast till we arrived at the island, and landed on the seaward side, being careful not to go inside of the island, lest we should be seen from the main by the Namuka natives. Bonavidongo and I walked across the island, whilst some of the natives remained by the canoes, and others were gathering calabashes. As soon as we reached the beach of the side opposite the main, he descried eight or ten canoes coming towards the island from Namuka. He immediately called me off the beach into the bush, for fear they should see me, and perhaps return to the main, and then we ran back to our people on the other side. He ordered half of the people to man their canoes, and the other half to run across the island, and wait secreted in the bush till the Namuka people had all landed. The canoes he ordered to go round and shut up the Namuka canoes between the island and our canoes, and to lie outside and prevent any of them escaping.

In company with Bonavidongo, I went on board of a canoe, and we all went round in the canoes excepting those who had gone by land. When we had reached the other side, we saw the land-party had already begun the attack, and had killed a good many, and some were still fighting on the beach, the Namuka natives defending themselves and canoes; but as soon as they discovered our canoes they fled to their own, and tried to escape, whilst the shore-party of our people followed them up and tomahawked a

number as they were getting into their canoes. Our canoes then made the second attack, running into them and boarding at once, and demolishing all excepting a few who jumped overboard and swam towards one of their canoes which had made her escape in the bustle. Our canoe immediately gave chase, and began firing at her, but she caught a breeze and got away, as we did not wish to follow her up too close to the main land for fear of being overpowered. They were shooting from our canoe at one of the fugitives, who was still swimming with all his might after the one that had escaped, the balls striking the water within a foot of his head. I was standing there, with my musket in my hand, trying to persuade the chief to make the people desist from firing at the poor man, as he was in our power, and, if they were determined to have him, to take him alive; but he said I was a fool, and cursed me, because I did not fire and kill him at once, so as to save the ammunition that the Feejeeans were throwing away uselessly. By this time we were up to the fugitive, when the chief, lifting his tomahawk to dispatch him in the water, I stopped the blow with my hand, and begged him to let the man get on board alive. He threw down his tomahawk, and told me to save him, and I would see the result of being merciful, saying that, instead of being grateful for his life, he would kill and eat me the first opportunity that offered. It was some time before I could make the man believe that he would be quite safe with me, and that I had influence enough over the chief to save his life. Before we reached Udu he informed us that, since we were at Mouta, the Male people had been over and destroyed that place, and that Bonavidongo's father, Tui Mativata, was residing at Namuka, whither he had fled for protection, not daring to go to Mativata, on account of the chief Koretova. This unexpected information tended to make Bonavidongo quite pleased that I had interposed in saving the man's life, and he told me he was sorry he had so abused me for not shooting the man, and for the future should always prevent what I did not deem right to be done.

We returned to Nawii with the bodies that had been killed in the skirmish. They were dragged up, and the preparations made for cooking them, when I began to consider what Bonavidongo had just told me—always to prevent whatever I deemed wrong, and suggested to him whether it would not be better to bury than to eat the bodies. He said it was impossible for me or even himself to do away with that practice, as it was an old established rule from time immemorial throughout the Feejees. I then asked him if it would not be a good plan for him alone to abstain from it, for the sake of example. He said that he never was a "daukanatamala" (cannibal), nor "dauyalewa" (adulterer), only that he had eaten a little piece now and then, just to be in the fashion of the older chiefs, but that he never liked it, and there-

fore he did not call himself a real cannibal, although he took great pleasure in killing his enemies for the old and infirm chiefs to eat.

The bodies were dragged up the hill and into the square, and, as I had gratified my curiosity before, I stood at a distance at the other end of the town, not caring about seeing what they were going to do with them, till a number of young girls, who were passing where I stood, began to rally me about being afraid, and asked me to come and "sara-sara" (see). I told them I had seen the same thing done before, but they said I had not seen it "va Udu" (Udu fashion), which was entirely different. I would not accompany them, but, as soon as they began, I went to the top of a rock at the back of the square, and there looked down on all their proceedings. I saw that their animosity was so great, that they did not consider their enemies being killed and eaten sufficient to gratify their revenge, without deriding and degrading them, as it were, after death, which the young girls were doing in the most lewd kind of dance, touching the bodies in certain nameless parts with sticks as they were lying in a state of nudity, accompanying the action with the words of the song. I found out afterwards that the opposite sex were always selected for the purpose of making the disgraceful end of their enemies notorious. At the time the human flesh was being eaten, there was also a quantity of turtle, which was cooked and prepared in another place and by other people, but done up in exactly the same shape and in the same sized pieces as the human flesh. They were all aware of my aversion to their practices long before this, and, not wishing to offend me, never hinted in the slightest degree about it, saying among themselves that it was because I had never tasted it, and therefore did not know how good it was. The people who had the dressing of the turtle brought me several packages, and amongst them was one package of human flesh. As I always took the precaution to scrutinize well what I was about to eat, and especially at such times as these, I thought I perceived a difference, the flesh looking something darker and the fat yellower than the turtle. I threw them all away, and would not eat any, although they declared it was all turtle, but I took care not to eat anything but vegetables till I was certain all the human flesh was devoured.

The man whose life I had saved called and considered himself my kaisi (slave). I inquired if he had a wife or children. He said he had, and that after the expiration of certain days his wife would be strangled. I asked him if he would be able to reach his home unmolested if I gave him his liberty, and if there were no hostile tribes to pass through. He answered that, providing I would intercede with the chief to allow him to return, he would risk all other dangers. I asked the chief; and he said I could please myself, and so I allowed him to go, telling him to

make all the haste he could for the sake of saving the life of his wife. He promised to come back again after he had "kaka ka ni bula" (collected payment for his life), and fetch it to me before we started back for Nateva. In a few days he was as good as his promise, and arrived with a canoe-load of provisions, amongst which were several good pigs; he had also five or six "tambua-damu" (red whales' teeth), which are used as money, though not exactly as our money, there being no certain value put on them; but in that country they are invaluable, as life and death depend on the circulation of these teeth, and especially the red ones. I used to consider the difference between the white and red teeth the same as between our shillings and sovereigns, estimating the number of white whales' teeth throughout the Feejees to be twenty times as many as the red ones. The red teeth, which have become red by frequent handling and oiling for a number of years, they always told me were brought to the Feejees by the Tongans, by whom they were first introduced, and from whom also they learned the art of building the large double canoes. They also said that, previous to the visits of the Tongans, the Feejeeans did not know the use of angona, although they called it by that name, and looked upon it as a useless weed.

The man returned home to his place after he had delivered his message from Tui Mativata to Bonavidongo, and given the provisions and teeth, and informed me that he was at home, just in time, and not much to spare, for saving his wife's life.

We returned about the next day or so to Nateva, and when about half-way home fell in with a strong breeze of wind. They carried on sail till the last minute, and then, instead of trusting to their skill and activity, depended on the influence the god of the winds, storms, seas, &c., had over our safety, singing out, all at once, "Tau tau malua Turanga; Tau tau malua Turanga venua" (Send it down with mercy, Chief; Send it down intermingled with mercy, my good God), in a kind of prayerful, imploring tone, and neglecting the only means of safety. I advised lowering the sail till the heaviest of the squall was over, which they would not allow. I observed that all the people attending the sheet (which ought to be paid great attention to, as all the safety of these canoes depends upon slacking off and hauling it aft, alternately, as the breeze freshens or slackens) were completely paralysed. But I afterwards found out that this was not the case in all parts of the Feejees, but quite the contrary with the "kai wai" (mariners). The Nateva people are not considered as belonging to this class, but rather "ai vanua" (landsmen or lubbers).

More by good luck than good management, we landed all safe, which the majority attributed to the interposition of the "Turanga ni wai tue" (god of the salt water). One man, who was very

expert on the uninhabited island in destroying the Namuka people, but was conscious of allowing some to escape whom he might, if he had exerted himself to the utmost, have prevented, that night worked himself up into such an enthusiastic religious frenzy in the temple in which he was laid down to sleep at Nawii, that he believed the god of blood was asking him the reason he allowed the enemy to escape. He was frothing at the mouth, and answering these supposed questions in an audible voice, and lifting a large piece of wood up, which, if he had been in his senses, I don't believe he could have moved. It took four or five stout men to hold him, and, with all they could do, they could not quiet him. He was calling out the "kalou sa endrûvi au" (the god is angry with me), when one of the Nawii people brought in some whales' teeth, and went through a long kind of prayer or petition to the god whose temple we were sitting in. As soon as he thought the god was appeased, his frenzy subsided; but he was so exhausted that, when he landed at Nateva, he was obliged to be led up to the town.

As I observed that they still thought of and used me more as a novelty than a human being, I became dejected, melancholy, and dissatisfied with everything. At one town, tributary to Nateva, on the frontier or boundary that joined another territory called Tuneloa, there was a difference existing, and they were trying to settle it with arms. On account of its being nothing but a gali (or dependency), it was not able to cope with a powerful place like Tuneloa, which was governed by a chief of the rank of Tui. The Nateva people divided themselves, and about half the inhabitants went out and resided at the tributary town, and awaited the besiegers. They beat the Tuneloa people several times completely off, till at last their muskets got in very bad order, being clogged inside with dirt and rust. As not one of them could take a lock off, or even tighten in the flint-screw, they always brought them to me, and I used to take a delight in doing these things for them, till I had begun to get dissatisfied and disagreeable, more especially when I saw that Bonavidongo intended that I should remain with him, and would not allow me to return to Somo-Somo, merely to gratify his caprice. Although I was used very well, and almost every little whim attended to, I could not bear the idea of being stopped against my will; and the more I tried to console myself under these disagreeable circumstances, the more it increased the desire of leaving this place for something new. I made several agreements with different visitors to allow me to accompany them home; but when it came to the push, I found they feared or respected Bonavidongo too much, and always sneaked off without me. One day, after snapping several of their muskets again and again without igniting the powder, as all the fire was out of the hammers, they brought them to me,

and asked me to repair them as usual. I embraced the opportunity immediately of making myself disobliging, and told them that it was not that I *could* not do their muskets, but that I *would* not, let the consequence be what it might. They were very angry, and thought of retaliation, and even talked about killing me; but, on the other hand, they considered that I would soon get over this disobliging fit, and that I would be of more use alive than dead.

In this place was a young girl betrothed to a fellow that was a cripple, and extremely ugly, whom she disliked very much, saying she would sooner live twenty lifetimes single, than to be his wife for a night. This girl, knowing that what I took in hand I generally went through with, proposed to me to run away with her, and, passing by Tuneloa in the night, get to another place, where we would live together. She said we could travel in the night, and that we should never meet more than one or two men at a time, and that I could shoot one or two if they offered molestation. I thought of this proposition over and over again; and, although I loved the girl myself, conjectured that perhaps she was going to take advantage of my (as she supposed) blind attachment, and use me as a tool to extricate her from a man she detested, and perhaps (for all that I knew to the contrary) conduct her to one she loved. I told her what possibly might be the case if we took such a rash step, and that I should be killed by some chief for the sake of obtaining her himself, if we travelled into strange places; but that if I was really the object of her desire, I could easily manage to get her and take her to Nateva, where there would be no danger. She declared that was her pure intention, not only to get rid of her husband because he was such a despicable-looking object, but that, even if he had been the best-looking man the Feejees produced, she would abandon him for me. I went directly to the old men of the place, and inquired by what means I could obtain her, not telling them she cared anything about me, because that would be implicating her in the affair, which is not generally the fashion, the women being always supposed to be passive. They seemed quite surprised at my presumption, and all said that she was a "maramei" (chief girl), thinking that answer quite explicit and decisive enough to convince me at once how far she was placed above my reach. I was pretty much chagrined at this insult, and told them that, to be sure, I was not of that class, but that I considered the meanest white man in Bulatagani was far above the highest that ever the Feejees produced. They laughed me to scorn, and I put up with it till an opportunity should offer, which there did soon afterwards. I returned to Nateva, telling the girl that I would work it to a good issue, if she only had patience, and to remain there till I returned.

In a little while they wanted me to go and remain in the town, and do something to their muskets, which were in very bad order. This opportunity of disobliging them very much gratified me, as I foresaw I should in the end gain my object. I told them I would willingly do them, if they would pay me in the same way as is customary in my own country. They said they would, but I told them they were not able, the country was too mean; and yet they had the presumption to think an Englishman would be a servant or slave to a black man, which I observed was altogether against the order of things. I said they might all return home and get shot, for what I cared; and that I never would repair a musket for them unless they paid me the worth of my trouble. They said they would give me pigs and yams. I told them if they would allow me to have the maramei for a wife, I would be responsible for all the muskets, and repair them. They went home and considered it well over, and at last concluded they had better give up the notion of greatness, and let a white man have one of their great women, than to get killed for the want of arms to defend themselves with. All the bad muskets were brought up to Nateva, and the girl came with them. I immediately set about putting fire into the bad hammers with an old leather cartridge-box, that I burned for the purpose, and some salt, kindling a fire with old cocoa-nut shells, and fanning it till it was extremely hot, and then shoving the hammers quick into cold water. This succeeded very well, and the muskets were tried, and gave satisfaction. Some of them had the nipple of the feather-spring broken off, which I managed to repair by drilling a hole in the plate of the lock, and, as a substitute, I used a nail or pin out of the part that kept the barrel and stock together. But the greatest difficulty was, that several mainsprings were broken completely in two; and, as the permanent possession of my much-loved wife depended entirely on the reparation of these confounded muskets I was not willing to give it up. It was perfectly impossible to weld a mainspring, and, besides, I had nothing in the shape of tools, excepting an old knife, which answered the purpose of a screw-driver, a file, which was extremely handy, and a sail-needle for a drill. A hard stone used to answer the purpose of a hammer, which was in continual requisition for flattening the screws out whose threads were rusted off for want of oil. But to construct a new mainspring I could not devise any plan, till one day there was a feast and a quantity of pigs killed. As I got but a very scanty allowance of pork, it occurred to me that I could help myself, as the greater part of the pigs were given to the god, and laid up in the temple ready cooked; and I thought I had better have a bellyfull than let it be wasted on these false gods. I went into the temple in the night and took a meal from one of the smallest pigs, which I preferred

to the larger ones, as being better done. As soon as I had satisfied myself, I recollected that I had not cut the pig in the same way as the Feejeeans, and that they would know it was I. I therefore took the remainder and threw it outside into the bush for the dogs to eat, and then, returning to the temple, unscrewed the locks of the muskets that had been dedicated to the god for a number of years, taking care not to move them so as to disturb the cobwebs that were interwoven between. I then took out the mainsprings and screwed the locks on again into their proper places, and returned home to my wives. In the morning I threw away the old broken mainsprings, and supplied their places with the whole ones, making them answer equally as well as the former, and securing to myself the name of a "matai levu" (a great mechanic). They told me then to content myself amongst them, and enjoy the woman that I loved. But it was soon discovered that a whole pig was missing, and not another one disturbed at all—a mystery which they could not unravel.

After various conjectures from different people, one man said that it had pleased the god to show his acceptance of the offering in a more demonstrative manner than formerly by swallowing the pig whole, which conjecture the priest corroborated, swearing that the "kalou leka" (short god) had condescended to appear to him last night for the purpose of communicating to him, his obedient servant, certain favourable events, and he observed at the same time that the god had a good bellyfull, and that he was certain it was the pig that caused it, and likewise was the occasion of his being in such a good humour, as they were aware he was always in the very opposite humour when hungry. They came to me, asking if ever the god that we worshipped had demonstrated himself in such a way as theirs by actually swallowing a pig whole, showing at once, they said, his omnipotency. This news almost tempted me to undeceive them by acknowledging the whole affair, but, on more deliberate thought, I thought it would be the most imprudent step I could take, and kept it silent till a better opportunity should offer.

In a little while after this I accompanied Bonavidongo and the Nateva people to Boma, which is on the east side of Taveune, opposite Somo-Somo, calling at Wainieli, about half way between Somo-Somo and Boma. Wailieli is subject to Tui Kila-Kila and his father, who were both there, going to the offering of tribute to be held at Boma on the same island. We all proceeded on together with a number of Bau canoes, and when we arrived we saw a number of Lakemba and Vanua-balava canoes hauled up on the beach waiting the arrival of all that were expected. They soon arrived, and the tribute offering then commenced in exactly the same manner as before explained, but on a much larger scale, with a greater profusion of property, bales of cloth,

whales' teeth, &c., and likewise provisions. The number of people, I should say, were at least 5000.

Tui-thakau and his son wanted me to return to Somo-Somo, and several other chiefs wished me to go with them, but on account of what I had left behind me at Nateva, and the trouble and danger I had surmounted in acquiring the two girls, I determined to give up the idea of roving and go back and stop altogether, as I was well acquainted with Bonavidongo. As soon therefore as all the property had been given away to the Boma people, and the visitors had finished the provisions that were given in return, we returned to our respective houses.

Having arrived safe at Nateva, which place I began to look upon as a home, I sat myself down with a determination, if possible, of spending the remainder of my natural life there. I began to plant taro round the little grove of cocoa-nut trees, and collected some good-looking pigs for a breed, also domesticated a quantity of fowls to run about my dwelling, which was new, with a little bure, which I had built beside the dwelling-house for the purpose of taking an afternoon's nap in, and drinking my angona.

It happened, whilst we were away at the tribute offering at Boma, that the tributary town of which my second wife was a native was vanquished, most of the men killed, the women taken as prisoners, and the place completely destroyed; but some of the inhabitants, who escaped with their bare lives, had fled to Nateva, and from them we obtained the news. The Tuneloa people were not satisfied with the mischief they had done at the victory, but were making continual incursions on the remainder of the plantations, seemingly desirous of revenge and retaliation for the brave and determined manner in which the besieged defended their town till overpowered by ten-fold force. This I attributed to the negligence of Nateva, in not supplying them with a reinforcement, instead of taking everybody away to the tribute offering at Boma, for the sake of making an almost useless show of themselves in a strange place, and consequently neglecting the most urgent business at home. Tui Tuneloa was exterminating every visible remnant of vegetation every day successively without intermission. This continued aggravation at last roused the Nateva people from their apparent lethargy, and, collecting all the tributary towns along the coast of the bay as far as Navatu, they set out with the determination of giving the Tuneloa people a good drubbing.

They had their faces blackened, and new waist-belts on, their fine head-dresses that resembled gauze of different colours flowing behind them, and most of them with a kind of knee-buckles, as I used to call them, being composed of a quantity of small roots lashed very tightly round each leg under the knees. The use of them, they told me, was to brace in the muscles of the legs, and

they said they felt themselves stayed and firmer with these than without them. A great many had "sausauwais" on their middles. They looked extremely savage, their faces being blackened completely over, and the white of their eyes and their beautiful white teeth showing as they moved their enormous moustaches, also blackened, as well as their whiskers and beard, which hung down their breasts. Their numbers, and gigantic as well as athletic figures, had a most imposing and formidable appearance. They ran up to the front door of the king's house, where he was sitting, one by one, with their arms in their hands imitating the way they would use them on their enemies, each declaring his abilities or willingness to defend him, the great chief, by different quaint sayings, which sometimes caused great merriment and laughter. This business occupied four or five hours, and as soon as it was done they proceeded towards the tributary town, intending to lie in ambush till the Tuneloa people should arrive and begin to commit their usual depredations. They lay down in the scrub, but most of the young men preferred lying on the hard, shingly beach in rows, just above high-water mark. They said it was to inure themselves to hardship, and it tended greatly to harden their bodies. That night the mosquitoes were wonderfully numerous, so much so that I was unable to take any rest. The natives said they durst not kindle a fire for fear of being discovered, as they did not know whether the enemy were lurking about or not. I told them I did not want any fire to prevent the mosquitoes from stinging, as I should not dare to go to sleep under such circumstances, because at no time, that I had observed, was there a regular watch kept, not even in the most imminent danger. I told them to sleep on and take no notice of the mosquitoes, as it would tend to inure them and make their bodies hard. They laughed, and said they were afraid it would have the opposite effect. In the morning our people fancied, or really did hear, a cracking of sticks; they were all immediately on the alert, and soon after they discovered the enemy at their work dispersed about. One of our people fired a shot without being ordered, and without effect. The enemy immediately drew up into one body and returned the compliment by firing a whole volley into us at once, and then took to their heels and ran off, I thought for good, but no such luck, for as soon as they saw our people were not following them, they returned and fired a second volley into us, which our people as quickly returned, doing some execution on both sides. A pretty sharp fire was then kept up a few minutes, and the people that had no muskets were chasing and retreating alternately on both sides, menacing one another with death. At last Bonavidongo, not liking this kind of undecisive work, asked the men if they would follow him. They said they would; he then watched the time when the enemy slackened their fire and

not many had had time to reload, and rushed forward followed by his men with tomahawk in hand. At this the enemy turned round as though they were going away for good, and ran their hardest, occasionally looking round, and as soon as our party relaxed their speed the enemy turned to meet them. Our party then turned and ran off in their turn, allowing the enemy to be almost at their heels and then turned suddenly round, making a stiff stand; they were in momentary collision, but our people, being more prepared with their tomahawks, directed their blows well, and dealt great destruction. Each party, or rather the majority of each, retreated from the other, while others were seizing the dead and wounded indiscriminately, each party trying to save his own dead and wounded from the ignominious end of being eaten, and, on the other hand, to secure the dead and wounded of their enemies, for the sake of eating them and dishonouring their memory. The conflict had not entirely subsided, but two or three detached parties were still disputing the victory. I observed Bonavidongo disputing it with a very powerful and determined antagonist, and he was getting the better of him, when one of the enemy's party ran up to his friend's assistance with his tomahawk lifted to despatch Bonavidongo; I levelled my musket and took a deliberate and, as it proved, good aim; the ball entered the middle of his forehead, and he fell dead. Bonavidongo told me afterwards that he saw it all, which inspired him with fresh courage, and, making the last and almost desperate effort, he warded off the blow of his antagonist's tomahawk, and then drove his own into his neck, almost severing the head from the body. Here ended the whole, our people threatening the Tuncloa people with further retaliation as they retreated, and saying, in a short time they would go to Tuneloa and destroy it altogether, and take their chief and make a cook of him, and then cook him afterwards and eat him; advising them to make haste home and repeat what had been told them, and prepare themselves for an assault on their "kolo" (fortification).

The Tuneloa people answered that we might come as soon as we thought proper, and might depend upon a warmer reception than we had received that day. They went home, but our people stayed to prepare food and cook some of the dead bodies.

All the people were exulting at my success in saving Bonavidongo's life, and were very much surprised at my hitting the man in the place where the *wickedness lay*, and asked me if I aimed for that particular spot, or whether it was by chance. I told them that I certainly did aim for that spot, omitting to tell them that it was not every time I could hit where I intended.

Directly after this, a most singular circumstance took place, which placed my good shooting beyond all doubt. The chief having recommended me to shoot myself some fowls that were

pecking and scratching the ashes over which remained from the houses burnt down, I having nothing but a single ball in my piece declined, saying that I did not care about eating fowls at the time. I walked round on the ruins till I saw an opportunity of flattening a ball by means of two stones, and then cut it into slugs; no one seeing me, I put a quantity in my musket and returned to where the people were dressing their food. Some of them renewing the advice to shoot some fowls to satisfy my hunger, but really wanting to see if I would make a bad or good shot, I levelled my piece and fired at a fowl's head, intending to keep the name of being an excellent shot if possible. All the fowls ran away, I still standing looking after them. The natives burst out laughing at me, saying, "We thought it was more by good luck than anything else that you killed the man." At that very moment I observed one fowl making a circular route, forming a circle about six or seven feet in diameter. It immediately occurred to me that one of the slugs had struck him in the eye, and said, "You fools, do you imagine that I want to blow to atoms the bodies of the things that I shoot? If I strike a man in the forehead, and a fowl in the eye, that is sufficient for me, so long as they do not escape." I then ordered one of them to catch the fowl, which was getting weaker and making smaller circles as his death approached. They caught him, and, as luck would have it, one of the slugs had entered his right eye just as I had guessed. They all swore that the Wace Wace people were right in their assertions when they said that I was a kalou (devil), and that they had ocular demonstration of it that day. I kept this imposition up, knowing that it might hereafter be convenient to be thought a good shot, and, whenever afterwards I went shooting ducks, I used to shove a sail-needle, that I carried sticking in my shirt for pricking the touch-hole of my musket with, through both eyes of each duck, taking care not to let anybody accompany me on these shooting excursions.

But, to return to the subject: as soon as I had my fowl dressed, and the people had finished their repast, they lashed the dead bodies on poles, and some they cut up raw and others cooked, and took it all to Nateva the best way they could, and then commenced to tell the narrative of events, not omitting to relate my prowess and good fortune. I hope it will not be inferred from what I have stated that I was unnecessarily shedding blood, for it must be remembered that I was at the first placed among them, not from choice, but by an honest endeavour to extricate myself from the frying-pan, as it were, and accidentally fell into the fire. When I levelled my piece at the man, I knew it was a debt I owed my benefactor, and that it was absolutely necessary for my own preservation, because, if he had been conquered, I should probably have been killed afterwards on account of my intimate acquaint-

ance with Bonavidongo. As a chief's wives are strangled for the sake of exemplifying their fidelity and accompanying him to the invisible world, so this kind of death is often imposed upon courtiers and aides-de-camp, and always considered an honour and distinction. This I had learned at Somo-Somo, when Tui Kila-Kila related the circumstance of the strangulation of his brother's wives. Fifteen, I think he said, was the number that insisted upon sacrificing their lives for the death of their husband, then supposed to have been drowned in a squall off Koro, an island further to leeward, although it afterwards proved that he was murdered by the Moala chief, who is a vasu[1] to Lasakau, a part of Bau. Fifteen, or thereabouts, were saved by Tui Kila-Kila under the pretence of their having had no children, and that it was not requisite that they should be put to death. One reason of many, and perhaps the greatest, for strangling the wives of chiefs who have children surviving him, is that it is taken for a certain proof that these children are legitimate, and claim their rights as vasus to the places to which their deceased mothers belonged. If a mother neglected being strangled it would leave a doubt in the minds of the people as to her fidelity; and if any of her children were to go to the place she belonged to and claim property as their right, the owners would immediately embrace the opportunity of upbraiding the vasu with his mother being an unchaste woman, and saying that they would not allow him to carry anything off, because the infidelity of his mother cut off all his claim and rights as a vasu, and that it was an undeniable proof of her loving some other man better than his father that she had not been buried with him.

The whole thirty of Tui Kila-Kila's brother's wives wished to be strangled; but, being a little wiser than the generality of his countrymen, and not led away by the customs of his country, Tui Kila-Kila advised all who had borne children to his brother to be strangled, as a matter of course, because he knew that would be the means of his nephews vasuing property, and supplying him with an inexhaustible store of goods, which would be very convenient in appeasing Bau (the only place he feared, or even respected much, in the Feejees), if ever she fitted out an expedition against him. On the other hand, he said that the young women who had borne no children had no occasion to sacrifice their lives, knowing that they would make himself very good wives, and add greatly to his advantage, the greatness of a chief being estimated in a measure by the number of his women.

[1] *Vasu.* This word, although translated "nephew," does not imply a mere relationship, but a peculiar right, descending to chiefs from their mother, to demand from other districts, often (as in this case) of superior political power, property of any kind as presents. In this sense it does not, therefore, admit of a simple translation.

Fourteen of these women readily acceded to this proposal, and, as far as I could learn, were extremely happy to escape with their lives, especially in such a reputable way in the eyes of the world, being backed by the advice and opinion of such a great prince as Tui Kila-Kila, whose infallibility dared not be questioned. But one young girl (who made up the fifteen that were to be saved, and on whose account it was always supposed, more than for any other reason, he proposed to save the others, so as to come at the object of his desire) dared to question his opinion of the propriety of living, and violating the laws of betrothment, and demanded the privilege of being strangled. She asked Tui Kila-Kila where was the man she cared or was worthy of living for now that his brother was dead? Tui Kila-Kila was so piqued at this reflection on his inferiority to his deceased brother, that he ordered the two women whose office it was to strangle her to haul tight at each end of the strip of cloth previously placed round her neck, which they obeyed; and as soon as she began to show symptoms of agony he ordered them to slacken it, thinking, as she had tasted partially the pangs of death, she would repent of her foolishness; but with her it was different, for she seized the ends and began hauling tight again, so as to complete what the stranglers had begun; and then the chief was satisfied with her foolish obstinacy, as he called it, and told the women to settle her quickly. This young woman was renowned for her beauty, and certainly she must have been as completely so as possible for a human being to be, excepting that she was not white—if that has anything to do with it—because, when I pointed out symmetrical forms and asked if she was anything like them, they always said she was far superior. And I believe Tui Kila-Kila's brother was one of the handsomest men that ever Somo-Somo produced; and, as far as my own judgment goes, I saw there some men who surpassed everything that I had before seen.

Soon after this, on some occasion or other, a quantity of pigs were offered to the god, and a discussion took place as to whether he would swallow another whole pig or not, as if he did. they said, it would be a sure sign of the acceptation of their offering. I, not wishing from the first to strengthen their error, but rather to undeceive them if possible, and thinking, as I had been there so long, and had my own houses, and was married, and had become a regular resident, and especially as I was of so much use to them, that they never would think of killing me, told them all—viz. that I was the kalou (ironically) that had made away with the pig; that there was no kalou-leka at all; and that the priest was an impostor. To convince them, I mentioned where I had thrown the remainder of the pig that I did not eat, and said, if they would take the trouble to go and look they would find some of the bones. They began, after a little deliberation, to

fancy that it might be possible—allowing I might do such a thing and no evil befall me, because I was protected by my own god: but I overheard some of them saying, if I had escaped the vengeance of their god, that the chiefs would never allow me to escape theirs. Some of them soon returned from searching for the bones, bringing the pig's head with them, and saying, "Dina sara" (very true, it is too true). They all looked very much alarmed and angry, and I then saw I had done wrong in confessing, and wished I had left it alone; but knowing it was of no use repenting what was irremediably past, I began to consider about the future, and how I should act if they should make a rush upon me, which I expected every moment. There was some angona prepared, and several drank their allowance without giving me mine first or second, as I was accustomed to have it before. I heard one say, "Give the white infidel his grog;" another answered, he would sooner give me a clubbing. After this I observed a man whispering with the chief, and, although I could not hear what was said, I judged, by black looks and side glances, that my doom was sealed. I then brought my mind to a conclusion what I would do. They handed me a cocoa-nut shell of angona, and just as I was in the act of drinking I was shoved backwards, and fell out at the door behind me, rolling down the steps about ten feet, but was not hurt. I immediately recovered my feet and ran towards the beach, but before I left the town the people were so close upon me (I could hear but not see them, as it was now dark) that I dropped myself down into a spot which was completely covered with wild mint, the people rushing past where I lay, and following one another in the narrow path to the beach. I then crept out and reached the outside of the fence, hauled out some of the poisoned skewers to make myself a passage, and cautiously swam the deep dyke, and so crossed the narrow path, and took off in another direction, so as to avoid meeting the natives as they returned from the beach, which I knew they would soon do when they found (as they thought) they could not overtake me. I kept on in that direction as far as I thought necessary, and then struck down on the beach, and travelled along till morning, when I found myself close to Navatu, but dared not show myself, because I knew there would be inquiries for me at all the adjacent friendly places, and so I kept secreted in the bush all day. In the afternoon I climbed a solitary cocoa-nut tree that was close to my hiding-place, and after I had filled my belly took some rest, and slept till about eight o'clock. I then started off in a direction towards the part of the land that fronted Somo-Somo, but, not being in any path, I made but little progress, and, thinking I might lose myself and go in the opposite direction to what I intended, I sat down till morning, the mosquitoes biting so intolerably that I was employed all night brushing them off as well as I could with a green bough.

In the morning, as soon as the sun was up, I started, and travelled the next day till I reached one of the tributary towns of Somo-Somo. I soon made my appearance in the town and inquired where the "Turanga levu" (great chief) was, thinking it best to designate the petty chief (and perhaps, for what I knew to the contrary, as I had not seen him, he was a mean grovelling wretch) by that name. What I supposed probable proved exactly true; I was shown into his house, which was as mean-looking as himself. He informed me that he was the great chief; thinking that he could easily make a fool of a foreigner, and that I should not have sense enough to know that he was only a petty tool for Somo-Somo. I thought it best not to undeceive him, but to try how much he would impose upon my supposed ignorance, by asking what distinction there was between different distant places, and what the distinction consisted in, and so on. He told me true, as far as my knowledge extended, and at last the conversation took the desired turn—which I had been pumping him for—upon himself. He made it out that he was related to the highest-blooded chiefs; and those with whom he could not claim, with propriety, a relationship, he spoke of in the most despicable terms, and praised himself and all his connexions, riches, &c.

The next day or so, a Somo-Somo canoe, called the Ramarama (Light), that had been built at another tributary town, was sailing past at a quick rate, with about two hundred men on board. I swam off ahead of her and met her, and told the people I wanted to go to Tui Kila-Kila, whose name I thought would be the means of deterring them from hurting me. But the fact was I was afraid to go to Somo-Somo, since the thirteen men had been killed by the people of the place I had been living in; and I had previously ascertained that she was bound to Bau, loaded with "magi-magi" and "katodraus" (sinnet and bales of cloth). The sinnet is done up in large rolls, five feet high and six feet in circumference, and balled up in a very neat way, so as to form alternate squares of black and white. I was in hopes I should secure myself a passage to Bau, which place I wanted to go to, for several reasons—one was to get clear of Tui Kila-Kila, and another because it was the head-place of the Feejees. But they would not have me on board, and when I took hold of one of the steer-paddles they shook me off, and took up poles and struck and poked me off with them, telling me to go away back to Nateva, where I had come from, and stay there for good, and that I might think myself well off that they allowed me to depart with a good pummelling instead of being killed, which they said I deserved; and that, if it remained for them to decide upon, they should be very glad to do. One of them had given me the end of a rope to hold on by, so that I could hear them say they were very sorry that Tui Kila-Kila or Tui-thakau had not given them direct orders how to pro-

ceed in case of falling in with me; and it was lucky for me that they had received no positive orders to kill me. But they would take this much upon themselves as to deny my coming on board the canoe, and at the end of this expression of their sentiments they began to make blows at me with the poles, and pelted me with yams and the stones they had for making their ovens with. I dropped astern, swimming in towards the shore, which was not far off, replying to their abuse, that I did not doubt but that I should have an opportunity to retaliate, and, if ever that opportunity offered, I would do so tenfold, if possible. I reached the shore, and then began to walk back to the town, when I met a man with one eye, who asked me where I had been, and what I had been swimming for? I told him that I wanted to go to Bau. He said he was a Bau chief; that he was a "mala" (ambassador) to this place; that he had finished his business here, and to-morrow should start for Koro, and sleep there that night, with the Ramarama (the Somo-Somo canoe); and, if I wished to go and see the strong place, and the place of chiefs, he would be very happy to give me a passage. He said I should be quite comfortable in Bau; and that Thakombau was a wonderful chief, and allowed none but chiefs to have a residence in his place; that the Somo-Somo people were nothing but abject slaves compared with Bau, and that they were only "mataisaus" (carpenters) for Bau, and were obliged to produce canoes for tribute, being commissioned, as it were, to oversee work done for the benefit of the one great and all-feared chief Thakombau,

I accepted his offer, and got on board the canoe, although the chief of the place looked very black at me for not asking his leave, which I avoided or omitted, knowing that I should have been sure of a denial. The black looks of the old wretch indicated his wrath, but I dare say he consoled his offended dignity by imputing it to my ignorance. We soon reached Koro, and hauled our canoe up opposite a village on the east side, where the Somo-Somo canoe Ramarama was lying at anchor, waiting for the canoe that I had just arrived in. Koro is a direct tributary under Bau, not as Somo-Somo, which is one of the ruling places; and, although afraid of Bau, is in reality a royal residence, as are also Lakemba and Rewa, which are classed with the Vanua Turangas (chief places). The Koro people had to convey their tribute to Bau themselves, and were not obliged or honoured with the commission to collect it from other places, being only classed with the common galis (tributary places), such as Ovalau, Batiki, Moturiki, and Moala, &c. &c., which are all directly under Bau. The inhabitants of Koro were cautioned by Thakombau to entertain all the people well that called there on their passage down with presents or tribute to Bau, so that we found plenty of everything and to spare, according to orders. The next

day we proceeded towards our destination, calling at the island of Ovalau, where, at the settlement of Levuka, there were about twenty-five white men, mostly Americans, who had left biche-de-mer vessels, residing, having at that time their four and five wives each, and some of them as many children. They appeared to be comfortable enough, and I could have remained with them if I had thought proper, but I did not entertain the notion of attempting a civilized life in the midst of cannibals, and thought that they incurred more danger in this kind of semi-civilization and apparent independence than I actually did, who was seeing fresh adventures every day, and trusting to the mercy of savages.

I, of course, after we had eaten and drunk to our heart's content at the expense of Tui Levuka, who had been ordered to supply us, or any one else, by Thakombau (Ovalau being a gali, the same as Koro), accompanied the fleet, for by this time even Tongan and Wallis's Island canoes had come from Lakemba and other places to the long anticipated banquet at Bau, on the occasion of the arrival of this new canoe which had been building seven years, and was at least one hundred feet long, and sufficiently large to carry three hundred men.

We called on our way at Moturiki, to await the arrival of the rest of the canoes that were expected to be at the banquet, so as to make our appearance in one combined fleet instead of detached squadrons.

In the course of the day all the canoes joined us, and shared the provisions that had been supplied by the Moturiki people, which we saw were given in greater quantities and better dressed than at other places more remotely situated from Bau, which I attributed to their being under the more immediate scrutiny of the ruling power.

This being ended, and all necessary preparations completed for making the best appearance in this much respected and *more* feared Bau, we all set sail together, the fast-sailing canoes taking in their large sails and setting their small ones, so as to allow the dull sailers to keep up with them. This plan they have lately adopted, calling it "faka papalangi" (English or whaleman fashion), being a very good substitute for reefing, and enabling them to lie within three or four points of the wind. Formerly they used, in performing their voyages to any distance, such as the Hapais or Tonga, to dowse everything at the approach of a strong head breeze, and scud before the wind back again to whence they came, even if their destination was in sight, sometimes experiencing great privations and almost starvation, on account of their improvidence in not getting on board sufficient provisions for these unforeseen casualties.

The whole fleet ran down together, passing Viwa (a missionary station) on our left or port hand, and all came to an anchor

between Thakombau's palace and that of Tanoa, who is his father, but, on account of his infirmity, together with the policy and ambition of his son, partially superannuated.

All on board the fleet having saluted the place, a small canoe came off from the shore to order us how to proceed, as there were plenty who had never been to Bau before. The messenger in the small canoe told the people that he dared to say he had no occasion to inform them that they must all cut off their "tobe" (locks of hair that are left like tails, and in other different fashions or shapes, which are generally worn by all classes, and take, perhaps, ten or twelve years growing), because, even if they had not all been to Bau before, he was aware that they and all people of the Feejees had heard of the rules exacted, and which were always willingly and respectfully performed as a mark of respect to the city and its chiefs.

They all docked their tails with apparent good will, although, I dare say, many did it with inward reluctance; and especially the Somo-Somo people, who, I observed, were the most conceited and arrogant natives in the Feejees. As soon as this was accomplished, preparations were made for lowering the Ramarama's mast, for the first time since it had been stepped in the place where it was built. Thakombau inquired if there had been any human sacrifices made to ensure and propitiate the god for the success, smart sailing, and durability of the canoe. They said, that during the seven years she was building, several people had been killed and eaten on the spot, but that no late sacrifices had been made. He said he wondered at Lala ko Livoni's[1] scrupulousness in not hauling the canoe over the bodies of slaves as rollers, but said that he did not wonder much, when he came to consider that he had been living under the dictates of "Bete ni lotu Bulatagani" (English priests or missionaries).

In lowering the mast, the heel slipped and caught one man and killed him, and two were slightly wounded, which accident Thakombau immediately attributed to the wrath of the gods, and despatched Navindi off in secrecy for a canoe-load of victims. Ten dead bodies were then being cooked on shore in the ovens opposite "Ulu ni puaka," the name of a receiving-house for visitors. It is a long house with a "rara" (square) opposite, situated in about the middle of Bau. The ten bodies had been killed by Navindi (the Lasakau, chief or king of the fishermen) that morning, but on account of the accident, Thakombau said there had not been sufficient sacrifices. Navindi soon returned with eleven dead bodies of persons whom he had fallen in with in a canoe and killed them

[1] Dispeopled Livoni, which is the fighting name of Tui Kila-Kila. He had had that name conferred on him on account of his success in the war with Livoni, a district in the interior of Ovalau, which consists of at least thirty native towns or villages.

all, making in all twenty-one human sacrifices. Tui-thakau's daughter was then landed and presented to Tanoa as a wife, with the canoe and its cargo; and then all the people belonging to the canoes were conducted up to the receiving-house and supplied with provisions, first with the human flesh, and then pigs, yams, taro, &c., in such quantities, that Bau was literally covered with the fragments. In this way they were entertained till it was Tanoa's and Thakombau's pleasure to allow them to return home. They were detained and entertained two months, being supplied with about two hundred pigs every day, besides turtle in great quantities, and fish, which were so numerous, that I never saw any other part eaten but just merely the eyes sucked out, and then the rest thrown outside for the dogs. The yams and other cooked vegetables were brought opposite the doorways of the long house in large crates, exactly like our earthenware crates, and not one-sixth part were ever unpacked, but left there; and the cattle used to come and eat from them, and then capsize the rest on the ground, so that the ground was completely covered with provisions. They used to amuse themselves in the morning by the game called tika or titika, which is played by first dividing themselves into two equal parts, one division standing at the end of the square, and the other division at the other end. There is a mark or stick stuck at each end, each party throwing at the opposite mark with the tikas, which are slight reeds with a piece of wood attached to one end to make them heavy. They throw these things an incredible distance. In the afternoon they have a game inside the house called lavo. The lavos are made of cocoa-nut shells of different sizes, varying from the size and shape of a shilling to larger than a crown or doubloon. This game is played on a smooth mat. A party being seated at each end, they throw the lavo with a quick jerk from the hand, so as to make the first rest on the opposite edge of the mat; they then endeavour to knock the one on the edge clear off the mat, that striking it taking its place; and if they succeed in doing this once, that counts one, and so on.

Thakombau having asked me to cast him a thousand balls of lead for his muskets, I agreed, and went to his house, where I was surprised to see upwards of twenty chests of different sorts, with a good many China trunks, forty or fifty pigs of lead, and upwards of two hundred kegs of powder. I asked where he got all these things from. He said he considered himself very badly off, and wished some biche-de-mer vessels would soon come, so that he could make up his standing quantity of powder, which, he said, was six hundred kegs, with pigs of lead in proportion. He also said he had five thousand muskets, but that he had distributed them all but a few amongst his people. He then gave me a bunch of keys, and told me to unlock the chests, and I would find everything requisite for running the bullets. I found three

or four large bullet-moulds, all of American manufacture, of brass, to run a dozen balls at a time, together with pots, ladles, and everything else. I soon completed my task, and gave him great satisfaction. He asked me to stop in Bau with him, his father, and brothers, and consider it my home, adding, that I could go to almost any part of the Feejees I thought proper, and yet be under his protection; and by-and-bye, when a vessel came, he should buy a cask of rum and we should drink it together. He appeared to me at first to be a very good fellow, and, in fact, he was so to me; but I was not long of discovering him to be a great tyrant to his people.

I went soon after with his brother Revelita, who was a vasu levu[1] to Rewa, to cruise about on a kind of excursion to the tributary towns. We called at the island of Batiki, and the inhabitants, as soon as they descried the canoes, began to prepare provisions, which, on account of the fast rate our canoes ran, had not time to be properly cooked. They were nevertheless inquired for by Revelita's tasters and aides-de-camp, &c., whom I found were the cause, in a great measure, of the tyrannical usage of the people.

The poor inhabitants, having been paid such visits before, knew what sort of guests they had to entertain, and hurried accordingly. They, in their haste and desire to please, took the victuals up before they were properly cooked, and brought them in the most humble way. The lazy courtiers and tasters informed Revelita that the victuals were quite raw, and observed, at the same time, that it was an old offence of that place in particular. The chief flew into a passion, thinking that his dignity was slighted, and ordered the inhabitants to assemble before him. They did so, and it happened to be on a beach that was completely covered with pumice-stone. They crawled on their hands and knees, waiting with resignation the result of the anger of the chief. At last he looked out of the door, and began to abuse them at a tremendous rate, and said he did not know how to punish them, as it was of no use killing them, because they would be glad to get off so easy. One of the courtiers observed, that it would be easier for them (the inhabitants), hardened slaves as they were, to make a hearty meal from the pumice-stones, than for such a chief as Revelita to eat the pork underdone. Revelita said, "Well thought of," and commanded the poor Batiki fellows to begin at once, which they immediately obeyed, and despatched such quantities of pumice-stone, that you could in a little while observe the stones diminishing, although the beach was thirty or forty yards long.

I visited nearly all the "vanua kaisis," such as Kaba, Tautata, Bure atuu, &c. These places and many others are a grade lower than the galis—the meaning of vanua kaisi being slave-places, the inhabitants of which are supposed to supply Tanoa's

[1] See note, p. 448.

and Thakombau's houses with daily food, and build the houses and keep them in repair; whereas the galis, although they supply provisions occasionally, only do so when places of the highest rank visit them: they also pay tribute periodically. Some of them are famous for such things as wooden trenchers, paddles, canoes, &c.; others for tapa, sinnet, mats, baskets, &c.: and others for pots, fishing-nets, turmeric, and "loa" (lamp-black). The former of the two last named articles is used on young infants in the same manner as baby-powder is used on European children; and the latter as paint for the men and women to besmear themselves with as ornament, and in war-time to use as a kind of regimental dress, if you may so term it.

"Old Snuff," or Tanoa, (an appellation the white people gave him on account of his snuffy appearance and squeaking noise through his nose when speaking,) used sometimes—after drinking his angona in Mua Dule, the name of his palace—to call out (spitting and clearing his mouth with the last of the cup-full), "Ai vasai vasi" (a crust, a crust). Sometimes he would say, "Ouru vou" (a chief's term used for a virgin), and then he was immediately supplied with one behind a large mosquito-screen, which was generally spread in the end of the house. At other times he would sing out in the same way for "Puaka balava" (literally, a long pig, but meaning a human body), and then some poor fellow lost his life to accommodate him; at other times it would be only "Puaka dina" (a real pig).

The Lasakau people are sailors or fishermen, and are a privileged set, allowed to remain in Bau, and sell their fish for vegetables and necessary articles, in consideration of the aid they rendered to Thakombau when he, with the assistance of them and the Tongan people, replaced Tanoa on the throne of Bau. The Tongans are allowed to remain in any part of the Feejees, and receive the protection of Bau on the same account.

The Europeans are privileged in consideration of the wars they took part in, at the time Charles Savage[1] and his party subdued all the islands that are now tributary to Bau. Before that time all the islands were independent of each other; but, by means of the fire-arms of the Europeans, Bau extended her dominions, and was feared even more then than she is now.

Rewa, since fire-arms have become so common, rebels against Bau, and in the last war maintained a defence for three years, and at last gave in through some of her party turning traitors.

One of Thakombau's brothers, named Mara, a vasu levu to Lakemba, arrived whilst I was there, with a cargo of the weather islands' produce, which he had been claiming and collecting for

[1] This man, a Swede, was part of the crew of an American brig, the Eliza, wrecked in 1808; and is said to have been the first who taught the natives the use of fire-arms. He perished in battle in 1813, leaving behind him the character of a great warrior, but of more than Feejeean cruelty.

several months, as his right, on account of his mother being the daughter of the former Tui-Neau, the title of all the Lakemba princes, who originated from Neau, a small island to the southward.

Mara's mother was saved when Tanoa conquered Lakemba, and was considered as a prisoner, and consequently as a slave; but, on account of personal beauty, Tanoa at last took her to wife, and she bore him this son Mara. Sometimes, when he presumes too much on the strength of his father and mother being both of high rank, Thakombau reminds him that his mother was only a prisoner or slave to his father; but that his (Thakombau's) mother was the greatest woman, as his father was the greatest man in the greatest place of the Feejees, and belonged to Bau. These kind of reflections tend to keep all his brothers within bounds. There is another brother, older than Thakombau, who is a vasu levu to Somo-Somo, but not being of pure Bau blood on the mother's side, of course he was excluded from the crown.

I shall have occasion to mention more about Bau and its families hereafter, but at present must go on with things as I saw them.

I took a trip over to Viwa about the beginning of the year 1842, and saw the missionary, Mr. Hunt, who had shifted from Somo-Somo to this place. The chief, Na-Mosimalua, an old warrior, notorious for treachery and scheming, had partially embraced Christianity for the sake of being protected from the French, he having formerly taken a French vessel and massacred her crew. He used to ask all the foreigners that visited his place whether he would not be safe from the French now that he was of the same persuasion as the English missionaries; and whether Bulatagani (England) could not beat France; and if Bulatagani, the mother of the Protestant faith, would allow the "kai lotu Popi" (the inhabitants of the Popish land) to molest him now that he was a true convert to the religion of the "Vanua kaukana" (strong land), meaning England.

In a few days I went back to Bau, and afterwards to a place situated about halfway from Bau to Rewa, about nine miles distant from each, on the right hand side of the river, just above Bureatu. It is called Nakelo, and governed by a Tui (king), who in the wars between Bau and Rewa sometimes joins one side and sometimes the other. Nakelo is sometimes neutral, but it cannot be exactly independent, although very powerful, having no way of supplying itself with fire-arms but through the medium of Bau or Kewa. Tui-Nakelo wished me to stay there with him, and when a ship came to an anchor off Nukulau (the name of a little island near to which the ships anchor at the entrance of Rewa), to take hogs, yams, &c., and buy powder and lead for him, so that he could be independent, like the other Tuis. To induce me to stay with him, he said that the hottest of war was always carried on in

that spot, it serving as a boundary between Bau and Rewa, who would shed the last drop of their blood to obtain it; not dreaming that that would be the very reason I should wish to be as far removed from the place as possible.

During the time I remained at Nakelo, which was about seven or eight days, I observed that there were no human bones exposed, or anything else that indicated cannibalism, and remarked it to the king. He told me that that was their peculiar tabu or "ka tambu" (sacred adherence), that they never had eaten human flesh; that their god preferred abstinence; and that was the reason they were so much more lucky than their neighbouring place Tokotoko, which was on the other side of the river, and one of the chief batis (allies) to Rewa. I afterwards found that all old Tui Nakelo had told me was perfectly true. I left him, under the promise of returning as soon as a ship came to an anchor, and then crossed the river by means of a large "kava kava" (bridge), the first I had seen of any extent, it being high enough in the middle part to allow a good-sized single canoe's mast to pass under without unstepping it.

I reached the other side and bent my course towards Tokotoko, the place of warriors. I was surprised to see the intricate crooked paths that led round innumerable moats and ditches, so constructed as to baffle and perplex the enemy. These ditches extend at least four miles round, and beyond the suburbs of Tokotoko, and have taken, I should say, the labour of this last century to complete. One can see the remains of old ditches for seven or eight miles, and in fact all over that part of the land which is low and affords no natural defence.

At last I reached a plantation, but, for the life of me, could not get out of these winding paths so as to make any headway in a straight direction, but invariably came out at the same place I started at. At last a boy discovered my dilemma, and offered his services as a guide, which I accepted, and was soon conducted to the "Turanga Bati" (chief of the forces). He seemed quite acquainted with white people, and asked me if I should reside in Rewa, for if I did I must become a friend to him, and supply him with powder.

I left Tokotoko, promising Turanga Bati to supply him with powder if ever it lay in my power. I travelled about four miles and then came to a place called Burebasanga. This place was formerly the residence of the Rewa king, chiefs, &c.; and sometimes Rewa to this day is called by that name, referring to the former royal residence. Burebasanga is situated between Tokotoko and Rewa, on the left-hand side of the river as you go to the last mentioned place from Bau. It was fortified after the general fashion, but not so strongly as Tokotoko, which being situated on

the Rewa frontier was more exposed to the frequent incursions of Bau.

I saw nothing worth noticing, except the neatness of the fences inside of the moats, which run from one end of the town to the other, quite straight and parallel to each other, forming narrow streets or broad paths, with other fences crossing them at right angles, forming numerous cross-roads and dividing the whole town into squares and parallelograms, with stiles to enter each; these fences being completely covered with pompion vines, giving the place a somewhat picturesque appearance.

I left Burebasanga and walked on towards Rewa, which was about two miles and a half distant, following the path on the bank of the river, which was on my right, and on my left one immense plain of cultivation, filled with yams, sugar-cane, via (horse taro), taro, and several other things, as far as the eye could reach, interspersed here and there with groves of ivi trees (an oily kind of nut) and kavika (mountain apple-trees), spreading their large and majestic foliage, and forming a most delightful and umbrageous retreat from the pitiless beams of the tropical sun as they poured down on the fatigued traveller. After walking about half a mile I saw fronting me the palace of Tui Drekete, which was called "Na Kusa" (destruction). To the right I saw four large buildings, with a bamboo fence surrounding them, and several large double canoes lying in front on the river. To my left I saw, as I advanced, other large premises and buildings, which I soon found belonged to Thakonauto, the youngest of the three brothers, who governed Rewa between them. The buildings to the right of Na Kusa belonged to the second brother, the king being the oldest. The second brother's fighting names were Naraningiou (shark's hiding-place) and Dava Waga (canoe-launcher). I soon reached the place called Na Sali, on the Burebasanga side, Rewa being across the river. In Na Sali first stood a weather-boarded house, belonging to Mr. Jagger, a missionary; further on were several Europeans' houses, built after European fashion, most of them being mechanics or handicraftsmen. They were sawing timber, building boats, making boxes, repairing muskets, &c. Some of those sawing immediately left their work to conduct me into their house, and prepare me something to eat, it being customary with the Europeans that are naturalized, as it were, through their long abode in the Feejees to be hospitable, a practice which they have adopted through the example of these savages.

After I had communicated the news from Bau, which the white people were glad to hear, I took a canoe and crossed the river to Thakonauto's premises, which were exactly opposite Mr. Jagger's. About a hundred yards from the bank of the river was a pale fence with a gate, fastening with a latch, hasp, and staple, so as to

lock up with a padlock at night. This fence surrounds three large buildings. The front of the house he (Thakonauto) lived in himself, faced the river, lying parallel to it, and a path straight up from the gate led to the front-door, which was very broad; the other houses lay at the back facing each other, and end on to the water.

I entered the front-door without ceremony, as self-introduction is invariably the best in this country, and saw Mr. Phillips, which is the appellation Thakonauto is known by amongst the Europeans. He was a man about five feet eight inches in height, rather stout, and about twenty-eight years of age, but with nothing about him at first sight to warrant his chieftainship. He had a blackish skin, something darker than the generality of his countrymen, with a broad face and flattish nose; and had lost two or three of his front teeth, which did not assist at all in setting him off, and especially when he showed the remainder, which he was continually doing by laughing. He walked up to me as I entered the door, and said in English, "How do you do? Ah! you come see me; all white men see me; man belongen ebery place see me; me like um man belongen noder place." I understood by this that he liked foreigners of all nations, and that they were welcome at his house. On one side of the house was a large buffet with cups and saucers on it, and two or three safes at another part, a large clock with a gaily painted face hanging in the middle of the house, placed perpendicular by means of a backboard. There were several different sized looking-glasses and a bird organ, all arranged and placed in order so as to make one imagine himself in a country farm-house, together with a table of the largest size, seven or eight chairs, with pots, frying-pan, tea-kettles, some on the fire and some off, and some bright tin ware, all placed in scullery order. At tea-time he had fried fish, pork chops, and tea sweetened with molasses; and several white men came over from Na Sali, who all sat down at table with him. Notwithstanding Phillips' unprepossessing appearance, I found he could talk almost fluently in Spanish, Tahitian, Tongan, and all the different dialects of Feejee, there being present in his house that night people from all those different countries. He was an extremely intelligent man for a Feejeean, and felt happy in the company of foreigners, although they were no small expense to him. After tea he ordered his steward, who was a Manilla man, to set out the grog, and it was handed out in a powder keg, which had been brought over from Benga, one of the Rewa tributary islands. He had ordered about seven or eight towns to supply four Tahitian natives with bananas, sugar-cane, and ti root, and for their trouble he supplied them (the Tahitians) with wives, provisions, tortoise-shell, &c.

These Tahitians distil from the above about three or four

gallons a day and send it over to Thakonauto, and then he and his companions (mostly English and Americans) drink it, getting sometimes beastly drunk, and cutting all manner of capers, and playing tricks on the inhabitants, which are only looked upon as childish chief's freaks. He being the youngest of the three brothers, although twenty-eight years of age, is called "angoni" (boy).

In the other two large houses live all his concubines. About seventy towns have to supply his house with provisions, which are brought in daily in immense quantities and shared out, and their proportion sent to Tui Drekete's palace and Dava Waga's premises. These three brothers are of Bau origin, the proper Rewa king and chiefs, although still living, being obselete, if I may so term it; of these, Vanivali, Vaete Drekete, Laga levu, and several other chiefs still pretend to hold a limited authority, although the tributaries and slave districts pay no tribute nor supply them with anything, unless ordered by one of the three brothers.

The Burebasanga people had recommended me to Thakonauto as the best chief in Rewa. His disposition, however, is inhuman in the extreme, although he never shows it towards foreigners, but views them as equals and companions. I have frequently seen him, when the Vanua kaisi (people belonging to the slave places) were coming along with provisions for him or any one of his brothers, and not stooping low enough (a mark of respect to a chief or his premises, or a chief's settlement, or anything connected with chieftainship), take down his rifle and shoot such man or men in the most deliberate manner, generally bursting out laughing to think how unawares he had caught him. This he would do through the fence-gate as the men were coming along the path on the bank of the river at Na Sali, on the other side. The rest of the men seeing this, and not daring to question the justice of these proceedings, whatever their inward thoughts were, would perhaps throw the body into the bush, and, jumping into the river to swim across, and being carried down by the stream, one or two would get bitten, and sometimes devoured entirely by the sharks, which are very numerous here and even thirty miles up the river.

If the chief refers at all to the shooting of the man, his brothers in slavery will immediately begin to expatiate on the chief's good shooting, and ask if he would like the body, and offer their services, sometimes with the most pleasing aspect, to swim across the river and fetch it, with as much apparent unconcern as though it had been a pig.

If ever a man loses a leg or an arm, which, by the bye, is often the case, but escapes being eaten by the sharks, by swimming on shore, he is generally despatched altogether and eaten, especially if he belong to Drekete. This place is considered the lowest of all, and is actually kept for human sacrifices and for food upon

any public occasion. They are not allowed to lift arms in their own defence, or in the defence of Rewa, but are supposed to be not only neutral, but passive and resigned to their fate from whosever hand it may come. Although there are many canoes on each side the river, they never get ferried over, but always swim, and in fact they never expect it. So habitual is their hard fate, that they look upon it as a matter of course, and not only resigned are they but even pleasant. Sometimes houses in different parts of Rewa get accidentally burned down, and then the different townspeople are sent for to rebuild them. They will cross the river the first thing in the morning, each laden with posts, rafters, reeds, thatching, or any other thing required, and then commence building and continue till dark, when they recross the river for their homes, not daring to sleep in Rewa or even eat in it. They have each to prepare their loads that night, and be over again in the morning by daylight and at their work, notwithstanding the distance, which is six miles, and no allowance is made for the preparation of their food.

Phillips received his English name, or thought proper to take it, from a Mr. Phillips, a shipowner in one of the States of America, who sent him a present of some twenty or thirty muskets and ammunition as a token of friendship, and in consideration of his interference in saving a vessel which his brother Tui Drekete, the king, was about to capture. He was always partial and kind to foreigners, and the reason he gave for this almost unaccountable cruelty to the slave people was, that they were a very rebellious and formidable people some forty or fifty years ago, and almost got the upper hand of Rewa, and that Rewa had rather a hard struggle to extricate herself from the threatening and disagreeable situation she was placed in. Of all the slave people Drekete was the worst and the "vura" (or ringleader); and at the time of their hardest struggle, the Rewa people swore that, if they did succeed in quelling and get the upper hand of them, they would for ever after keep them in the most abject slavery. He added, that they had stuck to their word ever since, and intended so to continue.

About this time all the slave people were busy preparing "drau ni makita" (a certain kind of leaf that makes the best thatch) for Na Kusa, the palace of Tui Drekete, which was intended to be rebuilt, and consequently it was all the talk far and near, as there would be public tribute offerings, feasting, and dancing. After the expiration of about a month, everything being collected and ready to commence, one or two human sacrifices were, I believe, made, but I did not see them; indeed, sometimes at this place I noticed they tried to conceal their cannibal practices from the Europeans, and even denied that they were cannibals, evidently being somewhat ashamed of the disgusting practice, and beginning to see it in something the same light as white people.

There was a good deal of ceremony going on, passing whales' teeth, &c., backwards and forwards, and I was paying great attention to everything, being the last European that had arrived there, and more curious than any of the rest, who perhaps had before gratified their curiosity, and were now all more or less busy at work, trying to make money, or what was equal to it in Feejee —tortoiseshell. I mention this, because what I am about to relate will not perhaps be believed, as I can adduce no proof from any eye-witnesses but myself, and even me the natives tried to divert from being a spectator of the scene, and strongly deny it to this day to all Europeans. I allowed them to amuse and divert me, as they thought, but saw men led along and descend into the holes that were dug out for the posts of the king's house, and then buried up with the posts alive. I observed this, and in order not to be deceived, I ran up close to one of the posts, into the hole of which I had seen a man descend, and there I saw, notwithstanding their hurry to cover the man with earth, his arms round the post and his head quite clear, while they endeavoured to make the crowd so dense as to hide all proofs of their practices, if not all suspicion. I mentioned this afterwards to the white people, and, although some of them had been living in Rewa for years, they had never seen even a piece of human flesh eaten or cooked, and I dare say did not believe what I asserted respecting the Drekete men being buried in with the posts alive.

After this I had occasion to visit several of the slave districts, and among them I called at Drekete. I endeavoured to draw all I could from these people respecting their usages. At first they seemed very careful to avoid any communication, and, if I asked a question to which they could not give a direct answer without exposing the barbarity of the Rewa chiefs, they silenced me by telling me it was tabu (forbidden) to speak about it. It was evident they did this to avert the evil they foresaw might arise to themselves if they were detected in the act of complaining, which they thought perhaps by my duplicity (as they judge everybody by their own countrymen) might be revealed and construed into rebellion, as such trifling things had been done before. I remained with these unfortunate people a few days, and would have taken pleasure in sympathising with them, but for their precaution and respectful distance, as, when asked a question, they would answer by a simple affirmative or negative, being very reserved and cautious to avoid throwing any light upon the subject; but by degrees I gained their confidence and drew a great deal from them, although they never related anything with even a tone of complaint, but said it was their duty to become food and sacrifices for the chiefs, whom their station and low grade behove to "vakarako rako" (honour).

They said, in answer to the questions I put respecting the

people being buried alive with the posts, that a house or palace of a king was just like a king's canoe: if the canoe was not hauled over-men, as rollers, she would not be expected to float long, and in like manner the palace could not stand long if people were not to sit down and continually hold the posts up. But I said, "How could they hold the posts up after they were dead?" They said, if they sacrificed their lives endeavouring to hold the posts in their right position to their superior's "turanga kai na kalou" (chiefs and god), that the virtue of the sacrifice would instigate the gods to uphold the house after they were dead, and that they were honoured by being considered adequate to such a noble task.

I found these people, if not happy in their ignorance, were certainly equally callous and insensible to hardship and pleasure. They were so degraded by slavery, priestcraft, and every other evil, that they could not pity themselves. I felt sorry for them from the bottom of my heart, but, as there was no remedy, I did not try to make them sensible of their miserable and unfortunate condition.

Whilst I was in Rewa, a Tonga canoe arrived from Lifuka in the Hapais, and amongst the crew was an American negro who had left a ship in Tongatabu. The adornments of these savage princes' palaces consist of novel things or even persons, such as dwarfs, cripples, &c. For this purpose the queen ("Goli wasa wasa"—sea skimmer), Tui Drekete's wife, requested the American black man to stay in the palace as an adornment, and make it his home; and to induce him to do this she ordered several of the slaves to be his wives. One of the women who was thus appointed, although a slave, was extremely good looking and intelligent, possessing sense enough to know that the thick-lipped, ugly negro was not better, or perhaps as good, as herself, and, in spite of all threatening, would have nothing to do with the "kuke" (cook). All black people they call cooks, because most of the ships that visit Feejee are Americans, and the cooks generally negroes. Cooks are the meanest people in the Feejees, a number having to cook for one man or chief; and they say that, if they themselves get something blacker by sitting occasionally over the pots assisting to dress and cook for one chief, no wonder that the "kaisi papalangi" (foreign slave) should get black entirely by having to cook and prepare the food for a number of chiefs continually, as they term all white people "turanga" (chief or gentleman), for the sake of politeness.

The woman who disliked the negro belonged to Notho (a slave place), and ran away from the detested kuke, but was brought back. She would have been killed, but that the queen was afraid that the negro would go away if he lost his fancy wife, and then the palace would lose a novelty. They generally called

him the "*black* white man," the name itself being contradictory or hovel. The woman ran away the second time, and was brought back and conveyed into a little house beside the palace, where I was sitting drinking angona with the Tongans. The queen came out with two chiefs, one belonging to Nakelo, the other to Tokotoko. She jumped on the woman's neck, and then ordered one of the chiefs to hand her a fire-stick from the fire, which he immediately did. She then began to abuse the woman, who was lying on her back, in the most brutal and beastly manner, working herself to a tremendous passion, and then ordered the two subordinate chiefs to lay hold of the woman's knees (as she was lying on her back with her knees upwards writhing with pain) and break her thighs. These men were about to do it, the Tongans muttering in a low tone against this brutal usage; and I, almost paralysed and speechless for the first few seconds, soon recovering myself, jumped up from where I was sitting, and with almost supernatural strength knocked one of the chiefs down like a bullock, shoved the other from the woman, and immediately reseated myself amidst the Tongans, expecting their assistance; but here I found myself mistaken, for, instead of being willing to defend me on the strength of my being a Christian like themselves, they began to upbraid my rashness for interfering. By this time the queen had, after various changes from black to red, and from red to white, recovered her speech, which was completely gone at the idea of the unheard-of presumption of a foreigner. She broke out in the most derisive and aggravating language, saying I was nothing better than, and really was, excrement that had been thrown away as not only useless but detestable and pernicious; that I had drifted unnoticed and unregarded about on the ocean, and had partaken of the qualities of the sea-monster, because, said she, "Are not his eyes like a shark's?" She asked me how dared I even encourage the most distant thought of interfering, and ordered the Feejeeans, who were pretty numerous, to make fast my hands behind me and conduct me into the palace, so that they could amuse themselves by making sport of me before they killed me. I was looking round to see if I could lay hold of a bayonet, knife, or any other weapon of that kind, which, if I had, I really should have despatched her first and as many as I could before they killed me, and, as they were pretty thick, I dare say several would have gone to their long home that day as well as myself; but Fate or Providence ordered it otherwise, and, as I could see no weapon to get hold of, I offered no resistance, but passively allowed them to handle me as though I was an inanimate lump of mortality.

As soon as I was led into the palace with my hands fast behind me, she began to abuse me, and told me that, as I had saved the woman's life (which I discovered I had effectually done by the queen's observations, it being considered dangerous to undertake

the second time a thing that has been once prevented) I must lose my own instead, and then she began pointing and ridiculing me by all possible means; the negro was administering what to his brutal nature seemed consolation by calling me a fool for interfering, and asking why did I not let her (the queen) kill the woman or do what she thought proper, as there were plenty more. I called him several names that he did not fancy, and then he asked the queen to let him kill me. The queen, desiring me to interpret what I was saying in English to the negro into Feejeean, I did so, and told her he was the lowest kind of human being on the face of the earth; that she was foolish for offering to punish any of the people for the sake of such a wretch, and the reason that I interfered was because I really did not like to see her led into a mistake for such a creature. She began to get a little calm, and asked the Tongans if it were true what I said. They, not liking the negro, who was a disagreeable brute, and admiring my sympathy for the poor woman, declared to the queen that I was an English gentleman, and that the masters of negroes, the white Americans, were not as noble-minded people as Englishmen; that England was a wonderful country, and so on, in the praise of the English, to excess. The queen ordered the English gentleman to be let loose, and declared the first man that upbraided me for what I had done she would kill, even if it should be an American negro kuke himself. The boot was on the other leg instantaneously, and, although this and various turns of fortune that generally turned in my favour may appear strange, due allowance must be made for the fickleness which is characteristic in the Feejeean people, and the caprices of the almost adored kings and queens. I became through this and other singular circumstances popular amongst almost all the places I visited, going by certain strange and not disrespectful names.

Afterwards, when the angona was preparing, and the king had returned from Ra (a part of Viti Levu to leeward), the queen called me up to sit beside her; and the king not moving to make room for me, she began to abuse him, and called him "Kaisi mata vaka puaka" (you pig-faced slave), such expressions being quite common, and especially with her to her spouse, who, although king, was much inferior in birth and appearance to Goli wasa wasa, the queen. He was much older than her; fat, lazy, and rendered effeminate by his luxurious life.

The queen was a most beautiful woman both in countenance and person, and very fair compared to the generality of Feejeean women. She was of the royal blood of Bau, and aspired, by hereditary right, to the throne and title of Ra di ni Bau (Her majesty Queen of Bau). She never liked Tui Drekete, but adhering to the rules of betrothal, and Rewa being next in rank to Bau, she, of course, became the wife of the next ruler to

Tanoa. She was of an amorous temperament, and carried on her intrigues wherever and with whomsoever she thought fit, not concealing them on her own account, because she despised the idea of having any restriction laid upon herself by Tui Drekete, whom she always called and thought a comparative slave, although for the safety of the accomplices of her amours, they were generally conducted with secrecy. It was surprising what variety of fancy this lecherous woman had. At one time she would select for her temporary partner a gigantic black-looking warrior, at another she would prefer a slender, graceful figure, with a lighter skin and beardless countenance. At times she would require imported luxury, and be extremely attentive to white people for that purpose; in fact, she looked upon gratifying the passions as the *summum bonum* of human enjoyment.

While the angona was preparing in the palace, the celebrated Ra poet, who was a little cripple, would be chanting verses, which he had a talent of composing on any subject. As fast as he could speak, his mind would suggest ideas appropriate, and in rhyme, to whatever humour her majesty happened to find herself.

At one time the poems would be upon war, at another love, and so on, according to whatever she requested; and I have seen her at one moment shedding tears, or melting, as it were, with love, and at another foaming with rage.

The old king had had many young men poisoned from jealousy by means of some of his Ra concubines, who were all very clever in the use of poisonous herbs, which they use in such a way as to cause a lingering death. The Ra people are generally acquainted with the herbs that contain such properties as will counteract or act as antidotes to the pernicious properties of others. They pretend to be able to poison the refuse or remains of food, affirming, that as the food gets rotten that has received the poison, so the person that previously ate the part that was not poisoned, will decay, linger, and consume, and at last die. They also use herbs for medicine. They are acquainted with legerdemain to a certain extent. There are numerous ventriloquists, which art seems to run in whole families. They sometimes amuse themselves with masquerades. I remember at one of the public masquerades, an individual who took the character of a white man, and performed it so well, that he caused great mirth. He was clothed like a sailor, armed with a cutlass, and as a substitute for bad teeth (which is a proverbial characteristic of white men amongst these people), he had short pieces of black pipe-stems placed irregularly, which answered very well. The nose on his mask was of a disproportionate length (which they also say is another prominent feature, adding nothing to the beauty of white men). His hat was cocked on three hairs, in the sailor fashion, and made from banana leaves. In his mouth was a short black pipe, which he

was puffing away as he strolled about, cutting the tops of any tender herb that happened to grow on either side. This masquerade is carried on by the slaves when they bring in the first fruits and offer them to the king; and even at such times, when allowance is made for not being over scrupulous in paying the accustomed deference to superiors, they nevertheless keep a little guard over themselves, and behave with more or less decorum. But this mimicking sailor acted his part cleverly, and paid no attention whatever to decorum, but strutted about puffing away at his pipe as unconcerned as though he was walking the forecastle. He detached himself from the crowd, flourishing his cutlass about and gaping alternately in all quarters, as though he was a stranger just arrived, when some of the masqueraders reminded him that he was in the presence of Tui Drekete. He immediately asked who Tui Drekete was, and could not be made to understand, till some of them looked in the direction the king was sitting, when he pointed (which is greatly against the rules), and asked if that was the "old bloke," walking up to him bolt upright and offering his hand, which the king smilingly shook. The sailor then told him he had better take a whiff or two with him, as it was the best tobacco he had smoked for many a day. The king, willing to make the best of the amusement, took the pipe, the spectators making the air ring again with their shouts and laughter, "Vavala gi dina, dina sara" (a real white man, a real white man). The sport then broke up, by the spectators rushing upon the masqueraders, each trying to get the mask of the character he most admired. There were many candidates for the sailor's mask, and the poor fellow got a tremendous mauling by one pulling one way and one another, to the great amusement of all present.

I amused myself by looking at all the public amusements, and in the intervals by shooting ducks, pigeons, parroquets, &c. One day I accompanied Thakonauto on a shooting excursion down the river that leads out to the entrance at Nasilai, as far as a tributary town called Niuque, where Thakonauto showed me a tree he had often told me about before, calling it "akau ni namu" (tree of mosquitoes). Whenever the mosquitoes were uncommonly numerous in Rewa (which was five miles from Niuque), he always used to say that the boys had been disturbing akau ni namu. This tree was completely covered with mosquitoes, and so thick were they, that one could easily have taken a capful from any branch at one scoop. Every part of the tree, from the very top to the root, appeared to be one solid trunk composed of mosquitoes, and in the same manner the branches.

Thakonauto said it had been that way since he was a boy; that it was the property of the tree to attract the mosquitoes, and if never disturbed, that the country would be entirely free from these troublesome insects.

Soon after this, Naraningiou, Tui Drekete's next younger brother, who is what the natives call "Tamata ni valu" (man of war), sailed from the part of his premises called "rokoroko gawa" (distant honour) for the tributary island of Benga, for the purpose of collecting "kamunaga" (riches), accompanied by all the under chiefs' canoes, to the number of about forty.

About half-way across towards Benga (the whole distance being something more than twenty miles), Naraningiou's canoe, which I was in, instead of rising to the sea, which was pretty high that day, dived through it, rising again with the whole of the fore-end of her "thama" carried away and drifting astern. The thama is the smallest canoe of the two that are lashed together, and is always to windward. We all repaired to the stern-sheets of the large canoe (the "kata," which is always to leeward), which was the lee quarter of the whole double canoe, and by our weight cocked up the foremost end of the thama sufficiently clear of the sea to pass a kind of frapping round with mats, and so reached Benga. Benga is an island from thirty to forty miles round, and has from twenty to thirty towns or villages, averaging, perhaps, a hundred and fifty inhabitants in each—men, women, and children included. It is rather high and mountainous, almost covered with wood, with numerous fresh-water streams running from the sides of the hills. The towns belong to the three brothers, Tui Drekete, Naraningiou, and Thakonauto, as equally divided as possible. I accompanied Thakonauto to his part of the island (where he had eight towns as his share) for the purpose of seeing how the Tahitians got on distilling the liquor. They had a very large-sized, three-legged pitch pot, placed on three stones so as to allow of a good draught underneath. It was covered on the top by a large piece of wood hollowed out as big as the pot, and secured all round with clay, so as to prevent the steam escaping; from the top led an old gun-barrel which conducted the steam into a long and large-sized bamboo, which led horizontally through a trough of cold water; under the end of the bamboo was placed a tub to catch the liquor as it ran out. They supplied the pot as it boiled down, from a canoe set up on two forked posts and laid nearly horizontal, but with a slight descent at one end, so as to allow the liquor to run from the bananas, sugar-cane, ti root, &c., which were mixed indiscriminately together, and placed at the elevated end to ferment.

Whilst we were amusing ourselves looking at this, the inhabitants had prepared and presented food to Thakonauto. We returned to the place where the "thakathakan-gai" (preparation of property) was going on, taking with us two powder kegs full of this liquor.

After the riches were collected, and distributed according to Naraningiou's orders, each party repaired to their respective

temple. Naraningiou, however, had observed discontent pictured on the countenance of "na bete levu" (the high priest), who had got all his subordinate ecclesiastics with him in one temple, and by their number and ferocious looks they were certainly a formidable mob.

Almost directly afterwards, the stones began to fly about in all directions, and the high priest was shaking himself with almost supernatural energy. Prompted by discontent, and desirous of having revenge in some way or another, he was denouncing the heaviest imprecations on Rewa, declaring that we had left it unprotected, and that the gods had inspired him with the power of seeing all that had taken place in Rewa since we last left; that the people who were left in charge had betrayed their trust, and sold the place to Bau; and that a great many of the houses were burned to the ground, some of the people killed and eaten, their wives ravished, and children carried into slavery. Naraningiou, knowing this to be a preposterous lie, and not being a man to be led away by these impostors, rushed up to the high priest, and ordered him, in the most authoritative tone, to desist from what appeared to the populace involuntary convulsions, under the penalty of death if he refused, observing at the same time that he ought to consider himself well off that he was tolerated at all and allowed to live, and that it was only for fashion's sake that the whole race of them (the priests) had not been exterminated long ago. The high priest, who a moment ago was shaking artificially with rage, was now at this moment shaking in reality with fear, and as soon as he had recovered his speech, which was completely gone by the sudden fright he had been thrown into, he wisely considered it most expedient to give a part of what just before seemed to him a very small share of the riches back to Naraningiou as a kind of conciliation. The "bete soro" (oblation) was accepted, and had the desired effect. But ever afterwards this seasonable caution acted sufficiently upon the priest to make him satisfied with deceiving the more foolish part of the people, who were mostly the vulgar, and winking at the wiser portion, who were mostly the aristocracy, especially Naraningiou, who, he used to say, was master of the law, priests, &c., ever after this.

We returned to Rewa, and soon after this I visited Kantavu with Naraningiou. In Kantavu, which is the name of three or four islands, we repaired to Na ara Bale (meaning, to drag over), a low and narrow part of the island, or an isthmus that joined two islands together; where, by dragging the canoes over (not more than half a mile), we were saved the trouble of going round either extremity of the land. At Na ara Bale (which name was likewise applied to the inhabitants and the village), when Naraningiou's canoe arrived, there were a number of people from Na-buke-levu (Cape-land) paying a visit to the inhabitants, but

Naraningiou, being on bad terms with them, and we arriving quite unexpectedly, they were taken at a non-plus. The Ara Bale people persuaded them that they would not be molested as they were under their protection, and that they were on the best of terms with Naraningiou, and had influence enough to intercede with him, if requisite. The Na-buke-levu people were foolish enough to depend upon what the Ara-Bale people told them, and remained there. As soon as it was rumoured that the disobedient subjects of Rewa were there, and in the power of Naraningiou, the Rewa people persuaded him to allow them to surprise them in the night, and, lashing them hand and foot, use them the next day for ways or rollers for their canoes that were to be hauled across the isthmus.

As they proposed, so it was done, and, although a great many escaped, upwards of forty were secured. In order to keep them in a straight position when laid for ways, each victim was secured with two banana-trees, one at his back and the other at his belly, both leading the whole length of his body—banana-trees being selected on account of their soft nature, lest wood of a hard substance should impede the destruction of the victims. They were laid out at the same distance from each other as they were in the habit of laying the ordinary rollers, and then the scene commenced. The cries and screams of the first few that were crushed, if they uttered any, were completely drowned by the hauling song and demon-like laugh of their bloodthirsty victors, but afterwards, when the song became less clamorous, one could hear distinctly the piercing shrieks of the unfortunate fellows for half a mile. At last it entirely seemed to subside, and a man that was in the house in which I was sitting assured me it was all over, and that he was very glad of it. He had told me several times that he wished he had been born a white man, and that he was a white man inside, although a Feejeean outside. I accompanied this man to the place, and shall never forget the distorted features of one of the victims, caused by the agony he was in. The fore part of the canoe was resting on him sufficiently to deprive him of the power of screaming, but the heaviest part had not been hauled upon him so as to put him out of his misery. He was unable to writhe his body sufficiently to be discovered by an ordinary spectator, but I noticed his body was undergoing a multiplicity of painful convulsions as much as the banana-trees would admit of.

I was introduced into this scene almost involuntarily, thinking that it was over. But, when I had seen this, a kind of spell seemed to come over me, and, curiosity predominating, I walked back looking at the bodies that the larger parts of the canoes were lying upon. The bottoms of the canoes, being round, had been dragged over the people, who were all lying face upwards, so as to fit, as it were, in the soft part of the body from the breast to

the crutch. These people were all dead, and not many of them outwardly lacerated, but their entrails were completely pressed out at either extremity by the enormous weight of the large double canoes. It is useless to say what became of the bodies, as enough has been said already to prove that these substitutes for "bula makau" (oxen) never were, and, I was going to say, never will be wasted.

Certain nameless parts of the bodies were taken care of to furnish the "akau-tabu" (forbidden tree) with a new supply of fruit, which was already artificially prolific in fruit, both of the masculine and feminine gender. The akau-tabu is generally a large ironwood tree, and selected according to the situation it is found in, the most conspicuous being generally preferred. In Rewa it overhung the path in the town that was most used, and where the evening dance was generally conducted.

In Kantavu the inhabitants seem to be more superstitious, or rather greater zealots, than their neighbours, and I attributed the cause to a recent earthquake that had been felt throughout the greater part of Feejee, but was so tremendous in Kantavu that the earth opened in several parts and destroyed a great number of people. In one part it shook down a large cave and buried thirty or forty women who had taken shelter for the night, having been on a fishing excursion. In another part of Buke-levu it shook down a part of the head bluff land and did great damage. They said that "A Dage" (the name of the great serpent and most powerful and wicked god) is the foundation of the Feejees, and supports them; that he slews or turns himself over every sleep he takes, which is from three to seven years long (seven years being his day, and seven years his night, corresponding to his size). As all the Feejees necessarily shake at those times, they sacrifice to him things of great value to induce him to be careful of their welfare when he is restless, and to turn himself as easily as possible, so that they will not be destroyed.

They have also in Kantavu a number of legendary or fabulous accounts concerning giants, &c. One of these is of a wonderfully large man who arrived there in a canoe about a hundred times as big as the biggest ship they ever saw, upwards of five hundred years ago. On the back of Kantavu is a small island, or rather an immense rock, with a very curious hole through it, which they say was the stone used by the giant for an anchor. When his canoe got cast on the shore, he landed on the Feejees, and travelled about from island to island on foot, and only up to his knees in water. They assert in many parts that it is a fact, and that his bones are still to be seen in such and such a place; but I always found, when I was in the place mentioned, that they were somewhere else.

The Feejeeans are, in general, the greatest adepts at fabricating a lie, or exaggerating, that ever I heard of. If you meet a man

alone you may depend he will have a lie to tell, and especially if he has had sufficient time from his first discovering you on the road, although a minute is quite sufficient to invent one. It is generally suited to the interest of the person he meets. If it happens to be a white man, it is almost certain to be about a ship that has just come to an anchor, or that the natives have been trying to take her, and were beaten off by the white people; describing the circumstances so minutely that, although perhaps you have been cheated in the same way more than once before, you are half inclined to believe there may be some truth in it. A good liar is considered a useful courtier to dissipate the hours which hang so heavily on the inmates of a Feejean court. I remember a fellow who answered the purpose very well; he was in the canoe with Naraningiou and myself at Kantavu, and when we returned to Rewa he hastened to the palace to tell Tui Drekete the tuku-tuku. He told the narrative of all that had happened since the canoes left Rewa, and for every pig that had been killed he said ten; the two score men that had been killed he called hundreds. As soon as this was ended, the king desired him to amuse him with a "talanoa vahavalangi" (white people's country story). He commenced by reminding his majesty that he was aware he had been to Sydney with old Wilson, the "matai thaka dakai" (a blacksmith or gunsmith). On account of his being black he was very much despised by the white people of Sydney, and Wilson would not let him sleep in the house, but made him sleep with the pigs, and eat with them also, and that he was not willing he should have even pig's food for nothing. He said Wilson had been in search of a large hammer through all the shops in Sydney for him to use (it being customary with the white people to supply black fellows with heavier tools than they use themselves). After an unsuccessful search he had to make a hammer himself, and, when it was made, it was so heavy that it dashed the hot iron about in such a manner as to cause his face to be in the state his majesty saw it was then in. It was full of holes, and looked something like the small-pox. He continued:—"You talk about the large guns you have seen on board ships, but what would you think of the gun that I fired myself in Sydney, which was quite of a small size compared to some, but took a keg of powder to prime it." The old king said, "Vinaka, vinaka (Good, good); kitaka tale" (proceed). "Well, then," says he, "you seem to wonder at the ingenuity and strength of white people who saw our 'dakua' (pine logs) up into so many planks, and with such facility. That puts me in mind of a circumstance that happened to me when I was taking a ride on a land ship (coach) into the country. Four days before I arrived at the place we were going to, I was continually tormented with sawdust flying into my eyes, and, as I advanced, it came thicker and

thicker, till I was obliged to blindfold my eyes, to prevent me from getting stone blind. At last I arrived, and what should you think I saw?" The king said, "Othe gona e gela" (who knows)? "Why," said the traveller, "there were some hundreds of thousands of saws working with the assistance of a fresh water river, and no one near them." The women burst out laughing as though they doubted it; but the king said, "Dina, dina sara (true, really true); athava ga, na vanua kalou" (what less, a land of spirits)? They drank the angona, and then the king requested another talanoa before he retired to rest. The traveller went on:—"You talk about 'vale valeru' (long houses) in Feejee, but the house (barracks) where the 'sotia' (soldiers) dwell, I was foolish enough to commence to fathom off with my arms, to measure it, as we measure tapa, but, after three months fatigue, I had to give it up as entirely useless, because I could not see that I was any nearer the end than when I began."

If these savages require variety for the sake of passing away a monotonous life, it is no wonder that I embraced every opportunity of change that offered. The first was that of an Englishman, by the name of Robert Stevens, going down the coast of Viti Levu to a place called Suba to saw dakua, it being a place famous for that wood. I accordingly accompanied him, taking tools sufficient for the purpose. We reached the place and lived in the chief's house (whose name was Rovalo) till we could get one put up for ourselves. We bought forty large dakua logs for an old musket, each log of which would saw into four hundred feet of plank. One afternoon, when my mate was rather sick and did not feel much inclined for work, I took the opportunity to take a stroll round and look at the place, which was exceedingly well fortified in their way.

I walked into a number of temples, which were very plentiful, and at last into a "bure theravou" (young man's bure), where I saw a tall young man about twenty years old. He appeared to be somewhat ailing, but not at all emaciated. He was rolling up the mat he had been sleeping upon, evidently preparing to go away somewhere. I addressed him, and asked him where he was going, when he immediately answered that he was going to be buried. I observed that he was not dead yet, but he said he soon should be dead when he was put under ground. I asked him why he was going to be buried? He said it was three days since he had eaten anything, and consequently he was getting very thin; and that if he lived any longer he would be much thinner, and then the women would call him a "lila" (skeleton), and laugh at him. I said he was a fool to throw himself away for fear of being laughed at; and asked him what or who his private god was, knowing it to be no use talking to him about Providence, a thing he had never heard of. He said his god was a

shark, and that if he were cast away in a canoe and was obliged to swim, that the sharks would not bite him. I asked him if he believed the shark, his god, had any power to act over him? He said yes. Well, then, said I, why do you not live a little longer, and trust to your god to give you an appetite? Finding that he could not give me satisfactory answers, and being determined to get buried to avoid the jeers of the ladies, which to a Feejeean are intolerable, he told me I knew nothing about it, and that I must not compare him to a white man, who was generally insensible to all shame, and did not care how much he was laughed at. I called him a fool, and said the best thing he could do was to get buried out of the way, because I knew that most of them work by the rules of contrary; but it was all to no purpose. By this time all his relations had collected round the door. His father had a kind of wooden spade to dig the grave with, his mother a new suit of tapa, his sister some vermilion and a whale's tooth, as an introduction to the great god of Rage-Rage. He arose, took up his bed and walked, not for life, but for death, his father, mother, and sister following after, with several other distant relations, whom I accompanied. I noticed that they seemed to follow him something in the same way that they follow a corpse in Europe to the grave (that is, as far as relationship and acquaintance are concerned), but, instead of lamenting, they were, if not rejoicing, acting and chatting in a very unconcerned way. At last we reached a place where several graves could be seen, and a spot was soon selected by the man who was to be buried. The old man, his father, began digging his grave, while his mother assisted her son in putting on a new tapa, and the girl (his sister) was besmearing him with vermilion and lamp-black, so as to send him decent into the invisible world, he (the victim) delivering messages that were to be taken by his sister to people then absent. His father then announced to him and the rest that the grave was completed, and asked him, in rather a surly tone, if he was not ready by this time. The mother then *nosed* him, and likewise the sister. He said, before I die I should like a drink of water. His father made a surly remark, and said, as he ran to fetch it in a leaf doubled up, "You have been a considerable trouble during your life, and it appears that you are going to trouble us equally at your death." The father returned with the water, which the son drank off, and then looked up into a tree covered with tough vines, saying he should prefer being strangled with a vine to being smothered in the grave. His father became excessively angry, and, spreading the mat at the bottom of the grave, told the son to die "faka tamata" (like a man), when he stepped into the grave, which was not more than four feet deep, and lay down on his back with the whale's tooth in his hands, which were clasped across his belly. The spare sides of the mats

were lapped over him so as to prevent the earth from getting to his body, and then about a foot of earth was shovelled in upon him as quickly as possible. His father stamped it immediately down solid, and called out, in a loud voice, "Sa tiko, 'sa tiko" (You are stopping there, you are stopping there), meaning "Good bye, Good bye." The son answered with a very audible grunt, and then about two feet more earth was shovelled in and stamped as before by the loving father, and Sa tiko called out again, which was answered by another grunt, but much fainter. The grave was then completely filled up, when, for curiosity's sake, I said myself, Sa tiko, but no answer was given, although I fancied, or really did see, the earth crack a little on the top of the grave. The father and mother then turned back to back on the middle of the grave, and, having dropped some kind of leaves from their hands, walked away in opposite directions towards a running stream of water hard by, where they and all the rest washed themselves, and made me wash myself, and then we returned to the town, where there was a feast prepared. As soon as the feast was over (it being then dark), began the dance and uproar which are always carried on either at natural or violent deaths. All classes then give themselves up to excess, especially at unnatural deaths of this sort, and create all manner of uproar by means of large bamboos, trumpet-shells, &c., which will contribute to the general noise which is considered requisite to drive the spirit away and deter him from desiring to dwell or even hover about his late residence. The uproar is always held in the late habitation of the deceased, the reason being that as no one knows for a certainty what reception he will receive in the invisible world, if it is not according to his expectations he will most likely repent of his bargain and wish to come back. For that reason they make a great noise to frighten him away, and dismantle his former habitation of everything that is attractive, and clothe it with everything that to their ideas seems repulsive.

Jackson's account of his residence in the Feejees terminates here.

He soon afterwards quitted the islands, and, after a stay of a year or two in New Caledonia and the New Hebrides, occasionally employed in sandalwood vessels, came to Sydney in H.M.S. Fly, in June, 1850.

B.

An ACCOUNT of PROCEEDINGS entered into against Mr. J. C. LEWIS, Master of the English brig Julia Percy, for having, whilst in the English schooner Will-o'-the-Wisp, shot three Natives, off the Island of Maree, in November, 1849.

Deposition made by Lieut. Pollard, before the Water-Police Magistrate.

New South Wales, City of Sydney, to wit. } WALTER JAMES POLLARD, lieutenant, commanding Her Majesty's schooner Bramble, and tender to Her Majesty's ship Havannah, both of which vessels are now lying in the harbour of Port Jackson, in the colony of New South Wales, appears before me the undersigned, Hutchinson Hothersall Browne, one of Her Majesty's justices of the peace for the said colony, and on oath states that, on the eighteenth day of September last, deponent, while in command of Her Majesty's schooner Bramble, visited the island of Maree, situated in the South Pacific Ocean, and while there communicated with natives of a village on that island called Guama,[1] through their interpreters and native teachers resident on that island, at which period this deponent received information that one J. C. Lewis had, in the month of November, one thousand eight hundred and forty-nine, while trading at the island of Maree, in a small cutter called the Will-o'-the-Wisp, fired at and killed three natives of a village a short distance to the southward of Guama; and deponent states that he also received further corroboration of the fact from a native chief who spoke a little English, without his explanation of further particulars. And deponent states that, after receiving the information respecting the death of the three natives, he proceeded to the island of Lifu, and there met with the said J. C. Lewis, in command of the brig Julia Percy, and on demanding an explanation relative to the reports he deponent had heard respecting the death of the three natives, the said J. C. Lewis addressed to deponent, in answer to the said demand for explanation, a letter attached hereto, marked (*a.*) in which it is admitted that the said J. C. Lewis, after having been warned by two native chiefs, as also by an Englishman and a native of Tonga, of the intention of a tribe at Massacre Bay to attack his vessel, stood into the land to see if they intended it, as he the said J. C. Lewis considered that he had sufficient hands to cope with them, and, on the three men swimming off to

[1] This is the village called by the Missionaries, whose orthography I have adopted, Keama.—J. E. E.

the vessel armed, with their faces blackened, did shoot the said three men; and deponent further states, that shortly after this explanation was written, the said J. C. Lewis sailed for the Isle of Pines, and after his departure deponent received information that two men, of the names of Burns and Martin, the former belonging to the Julia Percy, and living at a station at Lifu, and the latter, steward of the Julia Percy, were on board the Will-o'-the-Wisp at the time the natives were shot by the said J. C. Lewis; and deponent was further informed by a native of the island of Uea, while Her Majesty's schooner Bramble was at Kanela, New Caledonia, that he was in the cutter Will-o'-the-Wisp when the said J. C. Lewis fired on the natives with a double-barrelled gun, and that he saw one of the men sink after he had been fired at; and deponent further states, that at Lifu a white man, named Jemmy, told deponent that he Jemmy had warned J. C. Lewis of the intention of the natives to take the Will-o'-the-Wisp, and that he believed the natives would take her if an opportunity occurred. And deponent lastly states, that he has received two statements respecting the death of the natives, which are attached hereto, marked (*b.*) and (*c.*), one statement (*b.*) being in the handwriting of and signed by the Lord Bishop of New Zealand, and attested by Mr. George Crawley; and the other in the handwriting of and signed by Mr. G. N. Hector, a pupil of his lordship's.

From the whole of the circumstances connected with the death of the three natives, he deponent verily believes that the three natives were shot and killed by the said J. C. Lewis, near Maree, in the South Pacific Ocean, in the month of November, one thousand eight hundred and forty-nine, while he the said J. C. Lewis was trading there in the Will-o'-the-Wisp; and also, that from the whole of the information connected with the death of the natives, deponent is of opinion that no sufficient justification has been shown for taking their lives; deponent therefore prays that justice may be done, and that such legal proceedings may be adopted to cause such further inquiry into the circumstances connected with the death of the three natives by the said J. C. Lewis, as the law directs.

(Signed) Walter J. Pollard.

Sworn before me at Sydney, in the colony of New South Wales, this 9th day of December, 1850.

(Signed) H. H. Browne, J.P.

(*a.*)

Mr. Lewis's Letter to Lieut. Pollard.

Brig Julia Percy, N.W. Bay, Lifu,
Sept. 20, 1850.

SIR,—In answer to your letter, I beg leave to state that I was trading at Maree in November last, and having information from two different chiefs, who sent men off to inform me, that the tribe at Massacre Bay had been to each of them the day before to persuade them, and assist them, in taking my vessel the Will-o'-the-Wisp (to the first parties that came I did not pay much attention, but the second strongly corroborating with the other, and there being an Englishman and Tonga native in the canoe that told me of circumstances that transpired the day previous on board the vessel, and according with the natives' own account of the sole intention of taking the vessel if they had got the opportunity), I therefore made up my mind to go and see if they intended it; upon which the white man and Tonga native wished to go with me, but I persuaded them off, having, as I thought, hands enough to cope with them—three white men besides myself. I then stood into the bay and hove to, upon which three natives swam off, all blacked and armed; they very much wished me to go on shore to buy the sandalwood they said was on shore, but which I had been informed was nothing but fire-wood, piled up to decoy me on shore, for them to kill me and take the vessel; they also told a native woman that was on board they were going to take the vessel, and wanted her to go on shore, but she refused; they inquired of her the reason of our muskets being on deck, and whether they were good or not. During this time we could make out a great many natives running over the hills, with clubs and tomahawks, afraid of being too late for their share. As we were close in, we could see them waving their tapas for us to come closer; they had large bundles of sugar-cane and taro ready to eat with us, as they intended to have a great feast, as they told the tribe and the native woman on board. Having had two very narrow escapes before from these natives, and knowing they were a determined set, and having, to my knowledge, attacked and killed thirty-seven persons belonging to different vessels—viz. the captain, supercargo, and three men belonging to the brig Martha; five belonging to a boat that left Norfolk Island; seventeen in the Brigand, of the China; and ten, the whole of the crew of the cutter Sisters—I shot the three natives that came off to kill me; thereby saved my own life, that of the crew, and Captain Towns's property. When I had dispersed the natives I proceeded on my voyage.

I can bring proof here at present by three of the parties who first cautioned me—viz. the white man, the Tonga man, and Izona, a Lifu chief.

I have the honour, &c.
(Signed) J. C. LEWIS.

(*b.*)

Statement of the Lord Bishop of New Zealand.

Sydney, Nov. 26, 1850.

ON the 22nd of May, 1850, I anchored at Lifu, one of the Loyalty Islands, and there learned from the natives of the island that three Maree natives had been killed by the crew of an English trader. On the 25th of May I reached Maree, the southernmost of the Loyalty Islands, and there heard a confirmation of the report from the natives of Maree, and also from James Rees, a white man, engaged in collecting sandalwood on the island. The facts, as stated to me by the natives and James Rees, were these:—That Captain Lewis, of the Isle of Pines, received information that his vessel would be attacked by the natives, upon which he sailed to Nonte-Kurupa, at the south-west corner of Maree, and there killed three men, whose names were Teuene, Naichene, and Waiaridi, who swam off to his vessel from the shore. The three men above named were stated to be the whole party.

(Signed) G. A. N. ZEALAND.

Witness, Geo. Crawley.

(*c.*)

Statement of Mr. G. N. Hector.

North Shore, Nov. 26, 1850.

I WAS on board the ——— when she arrived at Lifu on Tuesday, 21st May. Siapo also, a lad from Maree, who had been at St. John's, in New Zealand, and at this time on his way back to Maree, was on board. Shortly after we came to an anchor, some of Siapo's friends came off to the Undine, and informed us of the murder which had been committed by the captain and crew of a small trading vessel. Siapo's account was as follows:—A vessel came from the Isle of Pines to Maree to trade for sandalwood. After the vessel had been there a short time (I do not remember how long), natives of Guama came off at different times, and told the captain his vessel would be attacked next day by natives from Nonte-Kurupa. Next morning three natives swam off to the vessel with clubs in their hands. They went on board, remained there a short time, till the captain shot them, or commanded them to be shot. As far as I can remember, this is all I heard from Siapo.

(Signed) G. N. HECTOR.

The story which John Rees told the Bishop of New Zealand was a little different. His statement was to this effect:—A small cutter, commanded by a person named Lewis, was at Maree trading for sandalwood. The day before the murder took place natives from Guama

brought Captain Lewis information that the next day natives from Nonte-Kurupa intended to attack the vessel; to which Captain Lewis replied, "Let them come," and ordered his men to get the fire-arms in good order. The next day three natives swam off from Nonte-Kurupa to the vessel with clubs in their hands. They came on board, and appeared at first to be friendly, but after a short time one of the three natives used threatening language to Captain Lewis, and lifted his club to strike Captain Lewis, whereupon he (Captain Lewis) ordered them to be shot.

This, as far as I remember, is a correct statement of what I heard John Rees tell the Bishop of New Zealand.

(Signed) G. N. Hector.

The Water-Police Magistrate to the Attorney-General for an Information respecting the death of three Natives of the Island of Maree, in the South Pacific Ocean.

Water-Police Office, Sydney, Dec. 9, 1850.

Sir,—I beg to forward you an information which has been taken before me at the request of Lieutenant Pollard, commanding Her Majesty's schooner Bramble, respecting the death of three natives of the island of Maree, who, it appears, were shot by one J. C. Lewis, the master of a merchant-vessel belonging to this port, whilst trading amongst the islands for sandalwood.

Lieutenant Pollard does not appear to be furnished with sufficient information while at the islands to satisfy him in charging Mr. Lewis with the murder of the three natives, but he is of opinion that the attack made on them was not justified by any circumstances which came to his notice, the vessel being at the time under weigh, and manned by a crew considerably larger in number than the body of natives who swam off.

I have reason to believe that Mr. Lewis will be in Sydney in a few months, as also one or perhaps two of the men alluded to in Mr. Pollard's information as having been present at the time the natives were killed. Having thus placed before you the particulars of the case as far as I have been informed in the matter, I feel it to be my duty to ask your advice as to my future proceedings, feeling that it is a case which requires some explanation on the part of Captain Lewis; and I would thank you to advise me as to the propriety of issuing a warrant to bring Mr. Lewis here, or whether you think a summons on his arrival will be sufficient to meet the justice of the case.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) H. H. Browne.

Attorney-General's Answer to the Water-Police Magistrate.

Attorney-General's Office, Sydney, Dec. 31, 1850.

Sir,—With reference to your letter of the 9th instant, transmitting the accompanying documents, and requesting the Attorney-General's

opinion as to the propriety of your issuing a warrant under the circumstances to bring Mr. Lewis to Sydney, or whether a summons on his arrival will be sufficient to meet the justice of the case—I am desired to inform you that the Attorney-General is of opinion no bench warrant can be obtained, because there is not at present sufficient evidence of criminality to justify him in filing an information which should precede the issue of a bench warrant.

There are, however, I am to add, sufficient materials for the initiation of an inquiry in the ordinary course, in the event of Captain Lewis coming within the jurisdiction of the water-police or other Sydney magistrates, and that, in that event, you would of course bring Captain Lewis before you for examination by summons, or, if necessary, by warrant, founded upon the affidavit of Lieutenant Pollard.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
(Signed) J. H. BEVERLY,
Clerk to the Attorney-General.

H. H. Browne, Esq. J. P.,
Water-Police Office.

From the Sydney Morning Herald, July 8, 1851.

MURDER ON THE HIGH SEAS.

John Charles Lewis, late of Sydney, master mariner, was indicted for having, on the 15th of November, 1849, on board a certain British vessel called the Will-o'-the-Wisp, and upon the high seas, within the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, wilfully murdered a certain "male adult," whose name was to the Attorney-General unknown, by shooting such male adult with a blunderbuss, thereby inflicting several mortal wounds, of which he instantly died.

His Honour suggested that the words "male adult" would not necessarily mean a human being. The information was accordingly amended by the insertion of the word "person" after the words "male adult."

The prisoner pleaded Not Guilty, and was defended by Messrs. Foster and Holroyd. Attorneys, Messrs. Nichols and Williams.

The Solicitor-General, after having briefly stated the circumstances of the case, which have already been before the public, proceeded to call Lieutenant Pollard. This gentleman stated that when among the Loyalty Islands, in command of H.M. schooner Bramble, he had heard some statements from the natives in reference to Captain Lewis, in consequence of which he called upon the latter, whom he met at Lifu, in command of the Julia Percy, for an explanation. Captain Lewis came on board the Bramble before hearing of the demand, and made some oral statements, but, Lieutenant Pollard requiring that this statement should be in writing, prisoner handed him such a statement, which appeared to have been written by a third person, and which he then signed: this was on the 20th September, 1850.

In reply to a question from Mr. Foster, this witness stated that he

had been to the island of Maree, where the offence was alleged to have been committed, although not to the same village. He had heard and believed that the people of this island were cannibals, very fierce and treacherous, and had killed several white men. A man called Jemmy, an European, resident at Maree, had told witness that the natives had really formed a plan to take the Will-o'-the-Wisp, and that he had informed Captain Lewis of this. Witness's opinion of Captain Lewis's general character was good. At the Isle of Pines, Lewis was very popular with the natives, and he was well spoken of by the Catholic missionaries at the different islands. Captain Lewis made no attempt whatever to get out of the way or to evade inquiry as to this case.

The substance of Captain Lewis's written statement was, that, having received information of a conspiracy to capture his vessel, he determined to go in and see whether this was the case. Having with him three other Europeans, two native men, and a native women, he thought himself able to cope with them. When he came close to the shore, three men came off and sought to persuade him to come ashore, where large heaps of wood were lying, which they represented to be sandalwood, but which he believed to be only fire-wood set up to decoy him. Judging from the questions which those men put to the woman as to the goodness of the arms which were on deck, and from the rapid approach to the shore of a number of armed men, he became convinced that an immediate attack was meditated. He therefore shot these three men, and stood off the land. The place, he said, had acquired the name of Massacre Bay from the number of men killed there belonging to trading vessels, and he conceived that in shooting these men he had done no more than was necessary to save his own life, the lives of his crew, and the property of Captain Towns, the owner of the vessel.

Thomas Byrnes, one of the men who was on board the Will-o'-the-Wisp at the time of the occurrence, confirmed the written statement of Captain Lewis, adding, that the three natives on board had beckoned to those on shore—that they had refused to go on shore when ordered to do so after the blunderbuss had been brought up—that the vessel was within half a mile of the shore, and the wind blowing strong in the bay, so that there was reason to apprehend the vessel would be taken. The men who came on board were unarmed; one of them was shot dead by the captain; a second was wounded by the same discharge, and fell overboard, where he was killed by the seamen, as was also the third man. The men fired their swivels at the crowd of natives ashore, but no men were seen to fall, and they soon afterwards dispersed.

On cross-examination, this witness stated that they had heard the native woman tell Captain Lewis the men had given the signal for fighting; also that the three men on board had told her to jump overboard, when they would throw the captain after her. The natives ashore might, before the firing, have approached and seized the vessel, by swimming off, before they were dispersed by the firing. There were two canoes there also, each capable apparently of carrying about six men. There might have been others there, as there were cocoanut trees ashore among which they might have been concealed, as was the practice at some of the islands.

Similar testimony was given by a Christianised and apparently intelligent native of Raiatea, who had acted as cook and steward on board the Will-o'-the-Wisp.

Mr. Foster contended that, although there had been the loss of life of which they had heard, it occurred under circumstances which rendered perfectly justifiable the share which Captain Lewis had had in the transaction. He might, he was convinced, have successfully objected to the reception of the prisoner's written statement altogether, owing to the mode in which it had been obtained, but he was desirous that the jury should have before them the whole circumstances of the case, satisfied that the danger in which the prisoner was placed at the time of shooting these men, and his subsequent readiness to submit to the most searching inquiry into his conduct, would show that he was wholly unconscious of having committed a crime. The position of Captain Lewis at the time was exactly the same as that of a man stopped by armed bush-rangers on the road. In such a case the traveller might lawfully shoot down his assailant. Lewis was not bound to turn aside from his trading operations because of his having heard of an intention to attack the vessel, any more than a traveller would be compellable to turn back because he might hear that there was an armed robber in his path. The learned gentleman quoted from the text-writers to show that a person might lawfully oppose force, whatever was the consequence, to prevent the commission of a felony to the prejudice of his person or property, and that he might do this without retreating. Lewis having been informed that it was contemplated by the men on board to throw him into the water, he had a right, he contended, to act as if this threat had been uttered to himself. There could be no doubt that these people intended to take the vessel and destroy the crew; and if Captain Lewis had any reasonable ground to believe in the existence of such an intention, he was justified in acting as he had done. He wished, on the part of Captain Lewis, that this case should be considered exactly as if these men had been Englishmen, but at the same time holding them responsible for the violence of their acts and the manifest hostility of their intentions.

Two witnesses were called for the defence—the Rev. Gilbert O'Dair, a Catholic missionary, who had known Captain Lewis for four years among the islands, and from his observations, as well as from the report of the natives, he had formed a very good opinion of that gentleman. Captain Morris, the second witness, said that he had known Captain Lewis for twelve years, and had always found him very popular among the islanders for his humanity.

His Honour said that their duty, as had been admitted, was to deal with this case in exactly the same manner as if the persons killed had been Englishmen. The answer with which this charge was met was, that the men had been killed in self-defence. It was quite true that a person who was attacked was not bound to wait until an attempt had actually been made to take his life. He was bound, however, to do no more than was necessary for self-defence, or what he might honestly deem necessary for that purpose. Even if the jury should be of opinion that there had been no actual necessity for killing these men as a measure of self-defence, still, if there were fair and reasonable grounds

for the creation of such a belief in the mind of the prisoner, he would still be justified. The law, however, would not hold the crime of homicide justifiable unless upon proof that it had been unaccompanied by malice, wickedness, or rashness. They would have to consider whether the prisoner had gone into the bay with the expectation of a conflict, and with preparations and intentions to shed blood; as also whether the killing of these three men was a necessary step to protect the prisoner's own life, and to prevent the capture of the vessel. Judging from the habits and disposition of these savages, they might reasonably assume that the capture of the vessel would have been followed by the murder of the captain and crew. Not only humanity, however, but the soundest principles of commercial policy, required that this matter should be most fairly judged, and the lives of these islanders should not be sacrificed unless it should appear plain, not only to Englishmen, but to the islanders themselves, that the act was justified; for if this was not the case, most sanguinary measures in retaliation might be anticipated. The questions, therefore, which the jury would have to decide were—first, whether the man was killed under circumstances which might reasonably create in the mind of Captain Lewis a belief that his life was in danger; and, secondly, whether, assuming such a belief to have fairly arisen, the taking of this man's life was really to be considered as a measure which Captain Lewis might at the time have fairly deemed necessary for self-preservation.

The jury, after having retired for a few minutes, found a verdict of Not Guilty. The prisoner was then discharged.

C.

THE amount of the trade in sandalwood between our colonies and China depends entirely on the price of the commodity in the market of that nation, which varies, it is said, from 40*l.* to 12*l.* a ton.

The vessels employed in the collection are in general small, and such as have been nearly worn out, and are unfitted for other branches of commerce. The crews, collected at Sydney or picked up among the islands, are almost universally paid by the *lay*, as in whaling voyages; that is, by a share either of the wood collected, or of the value calculated at a low fixed price (about 12*l.* a ton), the proportion for each seaman being one seventy-second part, so that, for every ton of sandalwood, he receives 12*l.*

There is, I believe, only one exception to this mode of payment, that, namely, adopted by Mr. Paddon of Aneiteum, who usually pays the seaman 2*l.* 5*s.* per month until the vessel's arrival at the island, or until her leaving one of his stations on a sandalwood

voyage. The men are then paid 1*l.* 10*s.* per month, and 2*s.* a ton each, in addition, for all the wood collected by their vessel. The head men of factories, such as Mr. Rodd, at the Isle of Pines, are paid by the *lay*, at one-sixth.

The following is a list of all the vessels heard of by us as employed in the trade among the New Hebrides and New Caledonia during the season of 1849:—

Names, &c., of Vessels.	Masters.	Owners.	Port belonging to.
Governor, brig	Davidson .	Paddon . . .	Sydney.
Rover's Bride, brigantine .	Bell . .		
Harriet, cutter	..	Marsden . .	Sydney.
Phantom, cutter. . . .	Oliver . .	Pyke . . .	Sydney.
Vanguard, schooner . .	Richards, part owner.	Kettle . . .	Sydney.
Marian Watson, schooner .	..		
Terror, schooner . . .	Dunning .	Thacker & Co. .	Sydney.
Avon, barque	..	..	Hobart Town.
Eleanor, barque	Woodin .	Thacker & Co..	Hobart Town.
Spy, barque	..	..	Hobart Town.
Lyner, schooner. . . .	Strachan .	..	Plymouth.

I am indebted to Lieut. Pollard for the above information and the accompanying estimate of the profits of a sandalwood voyage, calculated at the low price of 15*l.* a ton in China, viz.:—

"There is now at the Isle of Pines about 200 tons of cleaned sandalwood, which has been collected at Lifu, &c. &c., by the Julia Percy, Mr. Lewis, master, since February last. The following are the expenses chargeable upon it:—

1st. The master gets 1-12th of the *wood* collected, or 17 tons, which leaves 183 tons belonging to the owner.

2nd. The mate gets 1-28th of the *value* of the *whole* of the wood (200 tons), reckoned at 12*l.* per ton, or about 86*l.*

3rd. The second mate gets 1-40th of the value of the whole of the wood (200 tons), reckoned at 12*l.* per ton, or about 60*l.*

4th. The carpenter gets 1-45th of the value of the whole of the wood (200 tons), at 12*l.* per ton, or about 53*l.* 10*s.*

5th. Sixteen seamen at each 1-70th of the value of the whole of the wood (200 tons), reckoned at 12*l.* per ton, 548*l.* 16*s.*

6th. Eight months wear and tear of the vessel, at 5*l.* per month, about 40*l.*

7th. Provisions 1*l.* per day, or 1*s.* per day per man, and 10*l.* for feeding natives employed in clearing the wood, 250*l.*

8th. Mr. Lewis informed me that the Julia Percy carried about 65 tons of cleaned wood, and that three kegs of tobacco, of 2 cwt. each, and three cases of pipes, filled the brig. I allow the tobacco to be 6*d.* per lb. (above its price), and the pipes to be 15*s.* per case, which will make the cost of 200 tons about 60*l.*

I shall call it 100*l.*, in order to make a liberal allowance for presents, &c.

9th. Freight to China, 30*s.* per ton, 274*l.* 10*s.*

This statement will produce the following abstract:—

Prime Cost of Sandalwood in China.				Market Price of Sandalwood in China.			
Items.	Amount.			Items.	Amount.		
	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
Second	86	0	0	183 tons of sandalwood, at 15*l.* per ton	2745	0	0
Third	60	0	0				
Fourth	53	10	0				
Fifth	548	16	0	Deduct 5 per cent. for commission, wharfage, &c. &c.	150	0	0
Sixth	40	0	0				
Seventh	250	0	0				
Eighth	100	0	0				
Ninth	274	10	0				
	1412	16	0				
	2595	0	0		£ 2595	0	0
Leaving a balance in favour of the owner, of	1182	4	0				

The Julia Percy cost 900*l.*, but without boats, &c.; say she went to sea at a cost of 1200*l.* She is colonial built, and is of 102 tons burthen.

WALTER J. POLLARD,
Lieutenant Commanding.

H. M. Schooner Bramble, Nov. 3, 1850."

LONDON: PRINTED BY W. CLOWES AND SONS, STAMFORD STREET.

TRACK CHART

OF

H.M.S. HAVANNAH

CAPTAIN J.E. ERSKINE R.N.

The black line shows the Track in 1848.
The dotted line in 1849.

Entrance to Havannah Harbour, New Caledonia.

Tongatabu Islands.

Group of Rocks S.S.E. of Nukualofa.

Nukualofa.

Kao.

Tofua.

Kotu.

Lifuka.

Nomuka.

Tongatabu.

Eua.

Nukualofa.

Tongatabu.

Eua.

Kao and Tofua I.S.W.

Nomuka.

Tongatabu.

Eua.

Tofua.

Kao.

Lifuka.

Nukualofa.

Tongatabu.

Eua.

Kotu

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